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MEMOIRS

OF THE

Cardinal *De RETZ*,

CONTAINING

All the Great Events during the
Minority of

LEWIS XIV.

And Administration of

Cardinal *MAZARIN*.

Done out of FRENCH.

D U B L I N :

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MEMORIALS

OF THE

CHURCH OF ENGLAND

CONVENTION

AT THE CHURCH OF ST. MARTIN

IN THE CITY OF LONDON



CHURCH OF ST. MARTIN

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Advertisement.

THE Memoirs of the Cardinal *de Retz*, have met with such Applause, that they have been Printed no less than Five Times in *France*, and Twice in the *Low Countries*; and almost as often attempted to be Translated into *English*, by several Hands; who have only been discouraged from proceeding, by Reason of the Length of the Work, and the Obscurity of some Passages in it, too difficult for Interpretation; as is confess'd by the ingenious Author of those Monthly Memoirs, Printed at the *Hague*, intitled, *L' Europe Scavante*.

But it being lamented, that a History, in general so useful and entertaining, should be confined only to Foreigners,

we have been encouraged, by some Persons of the First Rank, to Abridge it; and therefore have reduced it into one Volume, comprehending the Sum and Substance of the Whole; leaving out all those inexplicable Phrases, and many of the tedious Disputes in the Chambers, and the Town-House of *Paris*, and other diminutive Circumstances, that no Ways concern an *English* Reader; and which have been sufficiently treated of by other Authors, who have writ of those Times.



THE



T H E
P R E F A C E E.

O U R A U T H O R,

J O H N - F R A N C I S - P A U L D E
G O N D I, *Cardinal de Retz, Sovereign
of Commercy, Prince of Euville, second
Archbishop of Paris, Abbot of St. Dennis
in France, was born at Montmirel in
Brie, October, 1614.*

*His Father was Philip Emanuel de Gondy, Count
de Joigni, General of the Gallies of France, and
Knight of the King's Orders. And his Mother was
Frances Margaret, Daughter of the Count of
Rochepot, Knight of the King's Orders, and of
Mary de Lannoy, Sovereign of Commercy and
Euville.*

*Peter de Gondy, Duke of Retz, was his Brother,
whose Daughter was the Dutchesse de Lefdiguieres.*

*His Grandfather was Albert de Gondy, Duke
of Retz, Marquis of Belle Isle, a Peer of France;
Marshal and General of the Gallies, Colonel of the
French Horse, First Gentleman of the Bed-chamber,*

and Great Chamberlain to the Kings Charles IX. and Henry III.

This History was first Printed at Paris in 1705, at the Expence of the Dutchesse de Lefdiguieres, the last of this Noble Family; whose Estate fell, after her Decease, to that of Villeroy.

His Preceptor was the famous Vincent de Paul, Almoner to Queen Anne of Austria.

In 1627, he was made a Canon of the Cathedral of Paris, by his Uncle John Francis de Gondi, first Archbishop of that City, and was not long after created a Doctor of the Sorbonne.

In 1643, he was appointed Coadjutor of the Archbishoprick of Paris, with the Title of Archbishop of Corinth; during which, such was his Pastoral Vigilance, that the most important Affairs of the Church were committed to his Care.

As to his General Character, if we take it from his own Memoirs, he had such a Presence of Mind, and so dextrously improved all Opportunities which Fortune presented to him, that it seem'd as if he had foreseen or desired them. He knew how to put a good Gloss upon his Failings, and oftentimes verily believed, he was really the Man which he affected to be only in Appearance. He was a Man of bright Parts, but no Conduct: being violent and inconsistent in his Intrigues of Love, as well as those of Politicks; and so indiscreet, as to boast of his successful Amours with certain Ladies, whom he ought not to have nam'd: He affected Pomp and Splendor, tho' his Profession demanded Simplicity and Humility: He was continually shifting Parties, being a Loyal Subject one Day, and the next a Rebel: One while a sworn Enemy to the Prime Minister, and by and by his zealous Friend; always aiming to make himself either formidable or necessary. As a Pastor, he had engrossed:

The PREFACE. vii

engrossed the Love and Confidence of the People; and as a Statesman, he artfully plaid them off against their Sovereign. He studied Characters thoroughly, and no Man painted them in truer Colours more to his own Purpose. Sometimes he confesses his Weaknesses, and at other Times betrays his Self-Flattery.

It being his Fate to be imprisoned by Mazarin, first at Vincennes, and then at Nantes, he made his Escape to Rome, and in 1656 retired to the Franche Comte; where Cardinal Mazarin gave Orders for his being arrested; upon which he Posted to Swisserland, and from thence to Constance, Strasburg, Ulm, Augsburg, Frankfort, and Cologn; to which last Place, Mazarin sent Men to take him dead or alive; whereupon he retired to Holland, and made a Trip from one Town to another till 1661, when Cardinal Mazarin dying, our Cardinal went as far as Valenciennes, in his Way to Paris, but was not suffer'd to come further; for the King and the Queen Mother would not be satisfied without his Resignation of the Archbishoprick of Paris, to which he at last submitted; upon advantageous Terms for himself, and an Amnesty for all his Adherents. But still the Court carried it so severely to the Cardinal, that they would not let him go and pay his last Devoirs to his Father, when on his Dying-Bed. At length, however, after Abundance of Sollicitation, he had Leave to go and wait upon the King and Queen, who, on the Death of Pope Alexander VII. sent him to Rome, to assist at the Election of his Successor.

No Wonder that our King Charles II. promised to intercede for the Cardinal's Re-establishment; for when the Royal Family was starving, as it were,

were, in their Exile at Paris, our Cardinal did more for them than all the French Court put together; and, upon the King's Promise to take the Roman Catholicks of England into his Protection, after his Restoration, he sent an Abbot to Rome to solicit the Pope to lend him Money, and to dispose the English Catholicks in his Favour.

He would fain have returned his Hat to the new Pope, but his Holiness, at the Solicitation of Lewis XIV. order'd him to keep it. After this, he chose a total Retirement, liv'd with exemplary Piety, considerably retrench'd his Expences; and hardly allow'd himself common Necessaries, in order to save Money to pay off a Debt of three Millions, which he had contracted; and had the Happiness to make even with the World before his Death, which happen'd at Paris, the 24th of August 1679, in the 66th Year of his Age.



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MEMOIRS

OF THE

Cardinal *De RETZ*, &c.

BOOK I.

MADAME,



HOUGH I have a natural Aversion to give you the History of my own Life, which has been chequered with such a variety of different Adventures, yet I had rather sacrifice my Reputation to the Commands of a Lady, for whom I have so peculiar a Regard, than not discover the most secret Springs of my Actions, and the inmost Recesses of my Soul.

By the Caprice of Fortune, many Mistakes of mine have turned to my Credit, and I very much doubt, whether it would be prudent in me to take off the Veil with which some of them are covered. But as I am re-

B

solved

2 *Memoirs of the Cardinal de RETZ.*

solved to give you a naked impartial Account of even the most minute Passages of my Life, ever since I have been capable of Reflection; so I most humbly beg you not to be surprized at the little Art, or rather, great Disorder, with which I write my Narrative; but to consider, that tho' the diversity of Incidents may sometimes break the Thread of the History, yet I will tell you nothing but with all that Sincerity which the Value I have for you demands: And to convince you farther, that I will neither add to, nor diminish from the plain Truth, I shall set my Name in the Front of the Work.

False Glory, and false Modesty, are the two Rocks on which Men, who have written their own Lives, have generally split, but which *Thuanus* among the Moderns, and *Cæsar* among the Ancients, happily escaped. I doubt not you will do me the Justice to believe, that I do not pretend to compare my self with those great Writers in any respect but Sincerity; a Virtue, in which we are not only permitted, but commanded to rival the greatest Heroes.

I am descended from a Family Illustrious in *France*, and ancient in *Italy*, and born upon a Day remarkable for the Taking of a monstrous *Sturgeon* in a small River that runs through the Country of *Montmirail* in *Brie*, the Place of my Nativity.

I am not so vain, as to be proud of having it thought that I was ushered into the World with a Prodigy or a Miracle, and I should never have mentioned this trifling Circumstance, had it not been for some Libels since published by my Enemies, wherein they affect to make the said *Sturgeon* a Prefage of the future Commotions in this Kingdom, and me the chief Author of them.

I beg leave to make a short Reflection on the Nature of the Mind of Man. I believe there never was an honest Soul in the World than my Father's; I might say, his Temper was the very Essence of Virtue: For tho' he saw I was too much inclin'd to Duels and Gallantry, ever to make a Figure as an Ecclesiastick, yet his great Love for his Eldest Son, not the View of the Archbishoprick of *Paris*, which was then in his Family, made him resolve



resolve to devote me to the Service of the Church. For he was so insensible of that, that I could even swear, he would have protested from the very bottom of his Heart, that he had no other Motive than the Apprehension of the Dangers, to which a contrary Profession might expose my Soul: So true it is, that nothing is so subject to Delusion as Piety; all sorts of Errors creep in, and hide themselves under that Veil: It gives a Sanction to all the Turns of Imagination; and the Honesty of the Intention is not sufficient to guard against it. In a Word, after all I have told you, I turn'd Clergyman, tho' it would have been long enough first, had it not been for the following Accident.

The Duke *de Retz*, Head of our Family, broke at that Time, by the King's Order, the Marriage Treaty concluded some Years before, between the Duke * *de Mercœur* and his Daughter; and next Day came to my Father, and agreeably surpriz'd him, by telling him he was resolv'd to give her to his Cousin, to reunite the Family.

As I knew she had a Sister worth above fourscore Thousand Livres a Year, I, that very instant, thought of a double Match: I had no hopes they would think on me, knowing how things stood, so I was resolv'd to provide for my self.

Having got a Hint, that my Father did not intend to carry me to the Wedding, as foreseeing it may be what happened, I pretended to be better pleas'd with my Profession, to be touched by what my Father had so often laid before me on that Subject, and I acted my Part so well, that they believ'd I was quite another Man.

My Father resolv'd to carry me into *Brittany*, and the rather, because I had shewn no Inclination that way. We found *Mademoiselle de Retz* at *Beaupreau* in *Anjou*: I look'd on the Eldest only as my Sister, but im-

* Lewis, Duke of Mercœur, since Cardinal de Vandome, Father to the Duke de Vandome, and Grand Prior, died, 1669.

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mediately considered Mademoiselle *de Scepaux*, (so the youngest was called) as my Mistress.

I thought her very handsome, her Complexion the most charming in the World, Lillies and Roses in abundance; admirable Eyes, a very pretty Mouth; and what she wanted in Stature, was abundantly made up by the Prospect of fourscore Thousand Livres a Year, and of the Dutchy of *Beaupreau*, and by a Thousand Chimeras which I form'd on these real Foundations.

I play'd my Game nicely from the beginning, and acted the Ecclesiastick and the Devotee both in the Journey, and during my stay there; nevertheless I paid my Sighs to the Fair one, she perceiv'd it; I spoke at last, and she heard me, but not with that Complacency which I could have wish'd.

But observing she had a great Kindness for an old Chambermaid, Sister to one of my Monks of *Buzai*, I did all I could to gain her, and by the Means of an hundred Pistoles down, and vast Promises, I succeeded. She made her Mistress believe that she was designed for a Nunnery, and I for my Part told her, that I was doomed to nothing less than a Monastery. She could not endure her Sister, because she was her Father's Darling, and I was not over fond of my * Brother for the same Reason: This resemblance in our Fortunes contributed much to the uniting our Affections, which, I persuaded my self, were reciprocal, and resolved to carry her to *Holland*.

Indeed there was nothing more easie; for *Machecaus*, whither we were come from *Beaupreau*, was no more than half a League from the Sea: But Money was the only Thing wanting, for my Treasure was so drain'd by the Gift of the hundred *Pistoles* above-mentioned, that I had not a *Sous* left. But I found a Supply, by telling my Father, that as the Farming of my Abbeyes was tax'd with the utmost Rigour of the Law, so I thought my self oblig'd in Conscience, to take the Administrati-

* Peter de Gondi, D. of Retz, who died in 1676.

on of them into my own Hands. This Proposal, tho' not pleasing, could not be rejected, both because it was regular, and because it made him in some measure believe that I would not fail to keep my Benefices, since I was willing to take care of them. I went the next Day to Lett * *Buzai*, which is but five Leagues from *Machecons*; I treated with a *Nantz* Merchant, whose Name was *Jucatières*, who took the Advantage of my eagerness, and for 4000 Crowns ready Money, got a Bargain that made his Fortune; I thought I had four Millions; and was just securing one of the *Dutch* Pinks, which are always in the Road of *Retz*, when the following Accident happened, which broke all my Measures.

Mademoiselle *de Retz* (for she had taken that Name after her Sister's Marriage) had the finest Eyes in the World, but they never had such Beauties as when she was languishing in Love, the Charms of which I never yet saw equalled. We happened to dine at a Lady's House, a League from *Machecoux*, where Mademoiselle *de Retz* looking in the Glass, at an Assembly of Ladies displayed all those tender, lively, moving Airs, (which the *Italians* call *Merbidexxa*, or the Lover's Languish.) But unfortunately, she was not aware, that † *Palluan*, since *Mareschal de Clerambaut*, was behind her, who observed her Airs, and being attach'd very much to Madame *de Retz*, with whom he had in her tender Years been very familiar, told her faithfully what he had observ'd.

Madame *de Retz*, who mortally hated her Sister, discover'd it that very Night to her Father, who did not fail to impart it to mine. The next Morning at the Arrival of the Post from *Paris*, all was in a Hurry, my Father pretending to have received very pressing News; and after our taking a flight, though public leave of the Ladies, my Father carry'd me to lie that Night at *Nantz*. I was, as you may imagine, under very great Surprise

* One of his Abbeys.

† Philip de Clerambaut Count de Palluan, died July 24. 1665. Aged 59 Years.

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and Concern. For I could not guess at the Cause of this sudden Departure. I had nothing to reproach my self with upon the score of my Conduct; neither had I the least Suspicion that *Palluau* had seen any thing more than ordinary, till I arrived at *Orleans*, where the Matter clear'd up; for my Brother, to prevent my escape, which I vainly attempted several times in my Journey, seiz'd my strong Box, in which was my Money, and then I understood that I was betrayed; in what Grief then I arriv'd at *Paris*, I leave you to imagine.

I found there *Equilli*, *Vasse's* Uncle, and my first Cousin, who, I dare say, was one of the honestest Men of his time; and lov'd me from his very Soul. I appris'd him of my Design to run away with *Mademoiselle de Retz*. He heartily approv'd of my Project, not only because it would be a very advantageous Match for me, but because he was perswaded that a double Alliance was necessary to secure the Establishment of the Family.

The * *Cardinal de Richelieu* (then Prime Minister) mortally hated the Princess *de Guimene*, because he was perswaded she had crossed his Amours with the † Queen, and had a Hand in the Trick play'd him by *Madame du Fargis*, one of the Queen's dressing Women, who shew'd her Majesty (*Mary de Medicis*) a Love Letter, writ by his Eminence, to the Queen, her Daughter-in-Law. The Cardinal push'd his Resentment so far, that he attempted to force the *Mareschal de Breze*, his Brother-in-Law, and Captain of the King's Life Guards, to expose *Madame de Guimene's* Letters, which were found in *Monfieur de Montmorenci's* Coffers, when he was Arrested at *Castle Naudari*. But the *Mareschal de Breze* had so much

* Armand Jean du Pleffis, *Cardinal de Richelieu*, was born in 1585, and died in 1642.

† Anne of Austria, eldest Daughter to Philip the III^d. King of Spain, and Wife to Lewis the XIIIth. died 1666.

‡ Henry de Montmorenci was apprehended the first of September, 1632, and beheaded in Toulouse in November the same Year.

Honour and Generosity as to return them to Madame de Guimene. He was nevertheless a very extravagant Gentleman; but the Cardinal de Richelieu perceiving he had been formerly honour'd by some kind of Relation to him, and dreading his angry Excursions and Preachments before the King, who had some Consideration for his Person, he bore with him very patiently, for the sake of settling Peace in his own Family, which he passionately longed to unite and establish, but which was the only Thing out of his Power, who could do whatever else he pleas'd in France. For the Marechal de Breze, had conceived so strong an Aversion against * Monsieur de la Meilleraie, who was then Great Master of the Artillery, and afterwards Marechal de la Meilleraie, that he could not endure him. He did not imagine that the Cardinal would ever look upon a Man, who, though his first Cousin, was of a mean Extraction, had a most contemptible Aspect, and, if Fame says true, not one extraordinary good Quality.

The Cardinal was of another Mind, and had a great Opinion, indeed with abundance of Reason, of M. de la Meilleraie's Courage, but he esteemed his military Capacity infinitely too much, tho' in truth, 'twas not contemptible. In a word, he designed him for that Post, which we have since seen so gloriously fill'd by M. de Turenne.

You may, by what has been said, Judge of the Divisions that were in Cardinal Richelieu's Family, and how much he was concern'd to appease them. He labour'd it with great Application, and for this End, thought he could not do better than to unite these two Heads of the Faction, in a close Confidence with himself exclusive of all others. To this End he us'd them jointly and in common as the Confidents of his Amours, which certainly were neither suitable to the Lustre of his Actions, nor the Grandure of his Life; for Marion de Lorme, one of his Mistresses, was little better than a common Prostitute. Another of his Concubines was Madame de Fruges, that

* Charles de la Porte, Marechal de la Meilleraie, died in 1664.

old Gentlewoman, whom you so often see sauntering in the Closets. The first used to come to his Apartment in the Night, and he went by Night to visit the other, who was but the pitiful Cast-off of *Buckingham* and *Epienne*. The two Confidants introduced him there in coloured Cloaths; for they had clapp'd up a hasty Peace, to which *Madame de Guimene* had liked to have fallen a Sacrifice.

Monfieur de la Meilleray, whom they call'd the Grand Master, was in Love with *Madame de Guimene*, but she could not love him, who being both in his own Nature, and by reason of his great Favour with the Cardinal, the most Imperious Man living, took it very ill that he was not belov'd; he complain'd, but the Lady was insensible, he huffed and bount'd, but was ridicul'd to scorn. He thought he had her in his Power, because the Cardinal, to whom he had declar'd his Rage against her, had given him her Letters, as above-mentioned, which were writ to *Monfieur Montmorenci*, and therefore, in his Menaces, he let fall some Hints with relation to those Letters, to the Disadvantage of *Madame de Guimene*, who thereupon ridicul'd him no longer, but was almost raving Mad, and fell into such an inconceivable Melancholy, that you would not know her, and retired to *Couperai*, where she would let no Body see her.

As soon as I apply'd my Mind to Study, I resolv'd at the same time to take the Cardinal *de Richelieu* for my Pattern, tho' my Friends oppos'd it, as too pedantick; but I followed my first Designs, and began my Course with good Success. I was afterwards followed by all Persons of Quality, of the same Profession; but as I was the first, the Cardinal was pleas'd with my Fancy, which, together with the good Offices done me by the Grand Master with the Cardinal, made him speak well of me on several Occasions, wonder that I had never made my Court to him, and at the same time he order'd *Monfieur de Lingendes*, since Bishop of *Macon*, to bring me to his House.

This

This was the Source of my first Disgrace; for instead of complying with these Offers of the Cardinal, and with the Instances of the Grand Master, urging me to go and make my Court to him, I return'd the most trifling Excuses and Apologies; one time I pretended to be Sick, and went into the Country. In short, I did enough to let them see that I did not care to be Dependent on the Cardinal *Richelieu*, who was certainly a very great Man, but had this particular Turn in his Genius, *viz.* to take Notice of Trifles. Of this, he gave me the following Instance: The History of the Conspiracy of *John Lewis de Fiesque*, * which I had writ at 18 Years of Age, being convey'd by *Boisrobert* into the Cardinal's Hands, he was heard to say, in the Presence of *Mareschal d'Esrees*, and *Senneterre*, This is a dangerous Genius. This was told my Father that very Night, by *Monfieur de Senneterre*, and I took it as spoken to my self.

The Success that I had in the Acts of the *Sorbonne*, made me fond of that sort of Reputation, which I had a Mind to push farther, and thought I might succeed in Sermons. Instead of Preaching first, as I was advis'd, in the little Convents, I preached on *Ascension*, *Corpus Christi* Day, &c. before the Queen, and the whole Court. Which Assurance gain'd me a pretty Character from the Cardinal; for when he was told how well I had perform'd, he said, There was no judging of Things by the Event, the Man is a Coxcomb. Thus you see I had enough to do for one of two and Twenty Years of Age.

Monfieur † le Count, who had a tender Love for me, and to whose Service and Person I was entirely devoted, left *Paris* in the Night, in order to get into *Sedan*, for

* *Author of the Conspiracy of Genoa, was drown'd the 1st of January, 1557.*

† *Lewis of Bourbon, Count of Soissons, kill'd in the Battle of Marfee, near Sedan, 1641.*

fear of an Arrest; and in the mean time entrusted me with the Care of *Vanbrock*, the greatest Confident he had in the World. I took Care, as I was ordered, that he should never stir out but at Night, for in the Day time I conceal'd him in a private Place, between the Cieling and the Penthouse, where I thought it impossible for any thing but a Cat or the Devil to find him. But he was not careful enough of himself; for one Morning my Door was burst open, and arm'd Men rush'd into my Chamber, with the Provost at their Head, who cry'd with a great Oath, where is *Vanbrock*? I reply'd, at *Sedan*, Sir, I believe; he swore again most confoundedly, and searched the Mattresses of all the Beds in the House, threatening to put my Domesticks to the Rack, if they did not make a Discovery, but there was only one that knew any thing of the Matter, and so they went away in a Rage. You may easily imagine that when this was reported, the Court would highly resent it. And so it happen'd, for the License of the *Sorbonne* being expir'd, and the Competitors striving for the best Places, I had the Ambition to put in for the first Place, and did not think my self oblig'd to yield to Abbot *de la Mothe Houdancourt*, now Archbishop of *Auch*, over whom, I had certainly some Advantage in the Disputations. I carried my self in this Affair wiser than could be expected from my Youth; for as soon as I heard that my Rival was supported by the Cardinal, who did him the Honour to own him for his Kinsman, I sent the Cardinal Word by Monsieur *de Raconis*, Bishop of *Lavaur*, that I desisted from my Pretension, out of the Respect I ow'd his Eminency, as soon as I heard that he concern'd himself in the Affair. The Bishop of *Lavaur* told me, that the Cardinal pretended the Abbot *de la Mothe* would not be oblig'd for the first Place to my Cession, but to his own Merit. This Answer exasperated me, I gave a Smile, and a low Bow, pursued my Point, and gain'd the first Place by 84 Voices. The Cardinal, who was for Domineering in all Places, and in all Affairs, fell into a Passion much below his Character, either as a Minister, or a Man, threatned the Deputies of the

Sorbonne,

Sorbonne, to raze the new Buildings he had begun there, and treated my Character again with incredible Bitterness.

All my Friends were alarm'd at this, and were for sending me in all haste to *Italy*. Accordingly I went to *Venice*, staid there till the middle of *August*, and had like to have been Assassinated; for I amus'd my self by making an Intrigue with *Signora Vendranina*, a noble *Venetian* Lady, and one of the Handsomest I ever saw. Monsieur de *Maille*, the King's Ambassador, aware of the dangerous Consequences of such Adventures in this Country, order'd me to depart from *Venice*; upon which I went through *Lombardy*, and towards the End of *September* arriv'd at *Rome*, where the Marechal d' *Estrées*, who resided there as Ambassador, gave me such Instructions for my Behaviour, as I follow'd to a Tittle. Though I had no Design to be an Ecclesiastick, yet since I wore a Cassock, I was resolved to acquire some Reputation at the Pope's Court. I compassed my Design very happily, avoiding any Appearance of Gallantry and Lewdness, and my Dress being grave to the last Degree; but for all this, I was at a vast Expence, having fine Liveries, a very splendid Equipage, and a Train of seven or eight Gentlemen, whereof four were Knights of *Malta*. I disputed in the Colleges of *Sapienza*, (not to be compar'd for Learning with those of the *Sorbonne*), and Fortune continued still to raise me. For the Prince de *Schomberg*, the Emperor's Ambassador, sent me Word one Day, while I was playing at Balon at the Baths of *Antoninus*, to leave the Place clear for him. I answer'd, that I could have refused his Excellency nothing ask'd in a civil Manner; but since it was commanded, I would have him to know, that I would obey the Orders of no Ambassador whatsoever, but that of the King my Master. Being urged a second time by one of his Attendants, to leave the Place, I stood upon my own Defence, and the *Germans*, more, in my Opinion, out of contempt of the few People I had with me, than out of any other Consideration, let the Affair drop.

This

This bold Carriage of so modest an Abbot to an Ambassador, who never went abroad without 100 Musqueteers on Horseback to attend him, made a great Noise in *Rome*, and was much taken notice of by Cardinal *Maximilien*.

The Cardinal *de Richelieu*'s Health declining, the Archbishoprick of *Paris* was now almost within my Ken, which, together with other Prospects of good Benefices, made me resolve not to fling off the Cassock but upon honourable Terms, and valuable Considerations; but having nothing yet within my View, that I could be sure of, I resolved to distinguish my self in my own Profession by all the Methods I could. I retired from the World, studied very hard, saw but very few Men, and had no more Correspondence with any of the Female Sex, except Madame *de * Guimene*.

The Devil had appeared to the Princess *de Guimene*; just a Fortnight before this Adventure happen'd, and was often rais'd by the Conjurations of Monsieur *d'Andilly*, † to frighten his Votary, I believe, into Piety, for he was even more in Love with her Person, than I myself, but he lov'd her in the Lord, purely and spiritually. I rais'd in my turn, a *Demon* that appear'd to her in a more kind and agreeable Form. In six Weeks I got her away from *Port Royal*; I was very diligent in paying her my Respects, and the Satisfaction I had in her Company, with some other agreeable Diversions, qualify'd in a great Measure the Chagrin which attended my Profession, to which I was not yet heartily reconciled. This Enchantment had like to have rais'd such a Storm, as would have given a new Face to the Affairs of *Europe*, if Fortune had been never so little on my Side.

* Princess *de Guimene*, was Ann of Rohan, Daughter to Peter de Rohan, Prince of Guimene, and of Magdalen de Rieux of Chateauneuf.

† Robert Arnold, Lord of Andilly, born 1589. famous for his Writings, and for his Retreat to the Abby of Port-Royal des Champs, he died 1674.

Monfieur the Cardinal of *Richelieu* loved rallying other People, but could not bear a Jeft himfelf; and all Men of this Humour, are always very crabbed and churlifh; of which the Cardinal gave an Instance in a publick Affembly of Ladies, to *Madame de Guimene*, when he threw out a fevere Jeft, which every Body obferved was pointed at me. She was fenfibly affronted, but I was enraged. For at laft there was a fort of an Underftanding between us, which tho' often ill managed, yet our Interests were infeparable. At this time * *Madame de la Meilleraye*, with whom, though *ſhe was ſilly*, I was fallen in Love, pleaſed the Cardinal to that degree, that the Mareſchal perceiv'd it before he ſet out for the Army, and rally'd his Wife in ſuch a manner, that ſhe immediately found he was even more Jealous than Ambitious. She was terribly afraid of him and did not love the Cardinal, who, by marrying her to his Couſin, had leſſened his own Family, of which he was extremely fond. Beſides, the Cardinal's Infirmities made him look a great deal older than he was. And though all his other Actions had no Tincture of Pedantry, yet in his Amorous Intrigues, he had the moſt of it in the World. I had a Detail of all the Steps he had made therein, which were extremely ridiculous. But continuing his Sollicitation, and carrying her to his Country Seat † at *Ruel*, where he kept her a conſiderable Time, I gueſs'd that the Lady had not Brains enough to reſiſt the Splendor of Court Favour, and that her Huſband's Jealouſie would ſoon give way to his Intereſt, but above all, to his Blind-ſide, which was an Attachment to the Court, not to be equall'd. When I was in the hotteſt Purſuit of this Paſſion, I propoſed to my ſelf the moſt exquisite Pleaſures in triumphing over the Cardinal *Richelieu* in this fair Field of Battle; but on a ſudden I had the Mortification to hear the whole Family

* *She was Mary de Coſſe, Daughter to Francis de Coſſe, Duke of Briffac.*

† *The Cardinal Richelieu's Seat, three Leagues from Paris.*

was changed. The Husband allowed his Wife to go to *Ruel* as often as she pleas'd, and her Behaviour towards me I suspected to be false and treacherous. In short, *Madame de Guimene's* Anger, for a Reason I hinted before, my Jealousie of *Madame de Meilleraye*, and Aversion to my own Profession, all join'd together in a fatal Moment, and had like to have produced one of the greatest and most famous Events of our Age.

* *La Rochepot*, my first Cousin, and dear Friend, was a Domestick of the late Duke of *Orleans*, † and his great Confident. He mortally hated the Cardinal de *Richelieu*, who had persecuted his Mother, and had her hung up in Effigie, and kept his Father still a Prisoner in the *Bastille*, and now refused the Son a Regiment, tho' *Mareschal de Meilleraye*, who very highly esteemed him for his Courage, interceded for the Favour. You may imagine that when we came together, we did not forget the Cardinal.

I being, as I told you, cross'd in my Designs, and as full of Resentment as *Rochepot* was for the Affronts put upon his Person and Family, we chimed in our Thoughts and Resolutions, which were, dextrously to manage the Weakness of the Duke of *Orleans*, and to put that in Execution which the Boldness of his Domesticks had almost effected at *Corbie*.

The Duke of *Orleans* was appointed General, and the Count de *Soissons* Lieutenant General of the King's Forces in *Picardy*, but neither of them stood well with the Cardinal, who only gave them those Posts, because the then Posture of Affairs was such that he could not help it.

L' Epinai, *Montreser*, and *la Rochepot* made use of all the Arguments they could think of to raise Jealousies and Fears in the Duke of *Orleans*, and to inspire him with Resolution and Courage to rid himself

* Son to Anthony de Silly, Count of *Rochepot*.

† Gaston John Baptiste of France, born 1608, and died at Blois, 1660.

of the Cardinal. Others laboured to persuade the Count *de Soissons* to relish the same Proposal, and 'twas resolv'd upon, but never put in Execution. For they had the Cardinal in their Power at *Amiens*, but did him no harm. For this every one blamed his Companion; but I could never yet learn the true Cause, only this is certain, that they were no sooner come to *Paris*, than they were all seiz'd with a Pannic, and retir'd some one Way, some another.

The Count of *Guiche*, * now *Mareschal de Grammont*, and Monsieur *de Chavigni* † Secretary of State, and the Cardinal's most intimate Favourite, were sent by the King to *Blois*. Here they frighted the Duke of *Orleans*, and made him return to *Paris*, where he was afraid more than ever; for such of his Domesticks as were not gained by the Court, made use of his pusillanimous Temper, and represented to him the Necessity he was under to provide for his own, or rather, their Security. *Rochepot* and my self, endeavoured to heighten his Fears as much as possible, in order to precipitate him into our Measures. The Term sounds odd, but it is the most expressive I could find of a Character like the Duke's. He weigh'd every thing, but fix'd on nothing; and if by chance he was inclined to one thing more than another, he would never execute it, without being pushed or forced into it.

Rochepot did all he could to fix him, but finding, that the Duke was always for Delays, and for perplexing all Expedients with groundless Fears of invincible Difficulties; he fell upon an expedient very dangerous to all Appearance, but as it usually happens in extraordinary Cases, much less so at first View.

* Anthony de Grammont, the third of that Name, born 1604, died 1678.

† Leon Bouthillier, the Son of Claude Bouthillier and Mary de Bragelonne, died 1652, as well as his Father.

Cardinal *de Richelieu* being to stand Godfather at the the Baptism of * *Mademoiselle*, *Rochepot's* Proposal was to continue to shew the Duke the Necessity he lay under still to get rid of the Cardinal; without saying much of the Particulars, for fear of hazarding the Secret; but only to entertain him with the general Proposal of that Affair, thereby to make him the better in Love with the Measures when proposed, and that they might, at a proper Time and Place, tell him they had conceal'd the Detail of the Execution from his Highness upon no other Account, but that they had experienced, on several Occasions, that there was no other Way of serving his Highness, as he himself had told *Rochepot* several Times; that nothing therefore remained, but to get some brave Fellows fit for such a resolute Enterprize, and to lay Post-Horses ready upon the Road to *Sedan*, under some other pretext, and so to execute the Design in the Presence, and in the Name of his Royal Highness upon the Day of the intended Solemnity, and that his Highness should chearfully own it when it was done, and that then we would carry him off by those Horses to *Sedan*. Mean while the Distraction of the inferior Ministers, and the Joy of the King to see himself delivered from a Tyrant, would dispose the Court rather to invite, than to pursue him. This was *Rochepot's* Scheme, and it seem'd exceeding plausible.

I and *la Rochepot* had, it may be, blamed the Inactivity of the Duke of *Orleans*, and of the Count of *Soissons*, in the Affair of *Amiens*, a hundred Times; yet no sooner was the Scheme come to maturity enough for that Execution, the Idea *whereof* I had rais'd in the Memory of *Rochepot*, but my Mind was seiz'd with I know not what fear; I took it then for a Scruple of Conscience, I can't tell whether 'twas in Truth so or not; but in short, the Thought of Killing a Priest and a Cardinal deeply

* Anne Mary Louise d' Orleans, Daughter of Gaston John Baptist of France, and of Mary of Bourbon Dutcheß of Montpensier, born 1627, and died 1693.

affected my Mind. *Rocheport* laugh'd at my Scruples, and banter'd me thus: *When you are in the Field of Battle, I warrant you'll not beat up the Enemies Quarters, for fear of Assassinating Men in their Sleep.* I was ashamed of my Scruples, and again hugg'd the Crime, which I looked upon as sanctified by the Examples of great Men, and justified and honoured by the mighty Danger that attended its Execution. We renewed our Consultations, engag'd some Accomplices, took all the necessary Precautions, and resolv'd upon the Execution. The Danger indeed was very great, but we might reasonably hope to come off well enough; for the Duke's Guard which was within, would not have failed to come to our Assistance against that of the Cardinal's, which was without. But his Fortune, and not his Guards, delivered him from the Snare; for either *Mademoiselle*, or himself, I forgot which, fell suddenly ill, and the Ceremony was put off to another Time, so that we lost our Opportunity. The Duke returned to *Blois*, and the *Marquis de Boissi* protested he would never discover us, but that he would be no longer concerned, because he had just received some Favour or other from the Cardinal's own Hands.

I confess, that this Enterprize, which had it succeeded, would have crown'd us with Glory, never fully pleas'd me. I was not so scrupulous in the committing of two other Transgressions against the Rules of Morality, as you may have before observed; but I wish with all my Heart I had never been concerned in this. Ancient *Rome* indeed would have counted it Honourable, but it is not in this Respect that I honour the Memory of old *Rome*.

There is commonly a great deal of Folly in Conspiracies, but afterwards there's nothing tends so much to make Men wise, at least for some Time. For as the Danger in Things of this Nature continues even after the Opportunities for doing them are over, Men are from that Instant more prudent and circumspect.

Having thus mis'd our Blow, the Count *de Rocheport*, and the rest of them, retired to their several Seats in the

the Country, but my Engagements detained me at *Paris*, where I was so retired, that I spent all my Time in my Study; and if ever I was seen abroad, 'twas with all the Reservedness of a pious Ecclesiastick. We were all so true to one another in keeping this Adventure secret, that it never took the least Wind while the Cardinal lived, who was a Minister that had the best Intelligence in the World; but after his Death, it was discovered by the Imprudence of *Tret* and *Etourville*, I call it Imprudence, for what greater Weakness can Men be guilty of, than to declare themselves to have been capable of what is dangerous in the first Instance.

To return to the History of the Count *de Soissons*, I observ'd before, that he was retired to *Sedan*, for his safety, which he could not expect at Court. He writ to the King, assuring his Majesty of his Fidelity, and that while he staid in that Place, he would undertake nothing prejudicial to his Service. He was very punctual to his Promise, was not to be byass'd by all the Offers of *Spain*, or the Empire, but rejected with Indignation the Overtures of *St. Ibal* and of *Bardouville*, who would have persuaded him to take up Arms. *Campion*, one of his Domesticks, whom he had left at *Paris* to mind his Affairs at Court, told me these Particulars by the Count's express Orders, and I still remember this Passage in one of his Letters to *Campion*. *The Men you know, are very urgent with me to treat with the Enemies, and accuse me of Weakness, because I fear the Examples of Charles of Bourbon, and Robert of Artois.* He was ordered to shew me this Letter; and desire my Opinion thereupon. I took my Pen, and at a little Distance from the Answer he had already began, I writ these Words, *And I do accuse them of Folly.* The Reasons upon which my Opinion was grounded, were these. The Count was courageous in the highest Degree of what is commonly called Valour, and had a more than ordinary Share in that Boldness of Mind, which we call Resolution. The first is common, and to be met with frequently among the Vulgar; but the second is more rare than can be imagined, and yet abundantly more necessary

necessary for great Enterprizes; and is there a greater in the World than Heading a Party? The Command of an Army, is without Comparifon of lefs Intricacy; for there are Wheels within Wheels, neceffary for Governing the State, but then they are not near fo brittle and delicate. In a Word, I am of Opinion, there are greater Qualities neceffary to make a good Head of a Party, than to make an Emperor, who is to govern the whole World; and that Refolution ought to run parallel with Judgment, I fay, with heroick Judgment, which is able to difcern the *Extraordinary* from what we call *Impossible*.

The Count had not one Grain of this difcerning Faculty, which is but feldom to be met with in the fublimeft Genius. His was but in a mean Degree, and confequently fufceptible of unreafonable Jealoufies and Diftrufts, which, of all Characters, is the moft oppofite to that of a good Partifan, who is indifpenfably oblig'd, in many Cafes, to fupprefs, and in all to conceal, the beft grounded Suspitions.

This was the Reason I could not be of their Opinion, who were for Engaging the Count in a Civil War; and *Varicovelle*, who was a Man of the beft Senfe and Temper, of all the Perfons of Quality he had about him, told me fince, that when he faw what I writ in *Campion's* Letter the Day I fet out for *Italy*, he very well knew by what Motives, I was, againft my Inclination, perfwaded into this Opinion.

The Count held out all this Year and the next, againft all the Sollicitations of the *Spaniards*, and the Importunities of his own Friends, much more by the wife Counfels of *Varicovelle*, than by the Force of his own Refolution; but nothing could fecure him from the Teazings of the Cardinal *de Richelieu*, who dinn'd him every Day, in the King's Name, with many difmal Discoveries and Prognofications. For fear of being tedious, I fhall only tell you in one Word, that the Cardinal, contrary to his own Intereft, hurry'd the Count into a Civil War, by fuch Arts of Chicanery, as thofe who are Fortune's Favourites never fail to play upon

upon the Unfortunate. The Minds of People began now to be more embitter'd than ever. I was sent for by the Count to *Sedan*, to tell him the State of *Paris*. The Account I gave him, could not but be very agreeable. For I told him the very Truth, that he was universally belov'd, honour'd, and ador'd in that City, and his Enemy dreaded and abhorr'd. The Duke de *Bouillon*, who was entirely for a War, be the Consequence what it would, refin'd upon these Advantages, and made them look more plausible, but *Varicovelle* vigorously opposed him.

I thought my self too young to declare my Opinion, but being oblig'd to it by his Highness, I took the Liberty to tell him, that a Prince of the Blood ought to engage himself in a Civil War, rather than suffer any Diminution of his Reputation or Dignity, and that nothing but these two Cases could justly oblige him to it; because he hazards both by a Commotion, whenever the one or the other Consideration does not make it necessary; that I thought his Highness far from being under any such Necessity, that his retreat to *Sedan* secured him from the Indignity he must have submitted to, among others, of taking the Left-hand, even in the Cardinal's own House. That in the mean Time, the popular Hatred of the Cardinal, gains his Highness the greater Share of the publick Favour, which is always much better secured by Inaction than Action; because the Glory of Action depends upon Success, for which no one can answer; whereas Inaction is sure to be commended, as being founded upon the Hatred which the Publick will always bear to that Minister. That therefore I should think it would be more glorious for his Highness, in the View of the World, to support himself by his own Weight, *viz.* by the Merit of his Virtue, against the Artifice of so powerful a Minister as the Cardinal de *Richelieu*, I say, more glorious to support himself by a wise and regular Conduct, than to kindle the Fire of War, the flagrant Consequences whereof no Man is able to foresee. That it was true, that Minister was universally cursed, but that I could not yet

see

see that the People's Minds were exasperated enough for any considerable Revolution. That the Cardinal was in a declining State of Health, and if he should not die this Time, his Highness would have the Opportunity of shewing the King, and the Public, that tho' by his own personal Authority, and his important Post of *Sedan*, he was in a Capacity to do himself Justice, he sacrificed his own Resentments to the Welfare and Quiet of the State; and that if the Cardinal should recover his Health, he would not fail, by additional Acts of Tyranny and Oppression, to draw upon himself the redoubled Execrations of the People, which would ripen their Murmurings and Discontents into an universal Revolution.

This is the Substance of what I said to the Count, and he seemed to be something affected by it. But the Duke *de Bouillon* was enrag'd, and told me by way of Banter, *Your Blood is very cold for a Gentleman of your Age.* To which I reply'd in these very Words, "All the Count's Servants are so much oblig'd to you, Sir, that they ought to bear every Thing from you; but were it not for this Consideration alone, I should think that your Bastions would not be always strong enough to protect you." The Duke soon came to himself, and treated me with all the Civilities imaginable, such as laid a Foundation for our future Friendship. I staid two Days longer at *Sedan*, during which, the Count changed his Mind five different Times, as I was told by Monsieur *St. Ibal*, who said little was to be expected from a Man of his Humour. At last, however, the Duke *de Bouillon* fixt him. I was charged to do all I could to bring over the People of *Paris*, had an Order to take up Money, and to lay it out for this Purpose, and I returned from *Sedan* with Letters, more than enough to have hang'd two hundred Men.

As I had faithfully set the Count's true Interest before him, and dissuaded him from undertaking an Affair of which he was no ways capable, I thought it high Time to think of my own Affairs. I hated my Profession

session now more than ever, I was at first hurry'd into it by the Infatuation of my Kindred. My Destiny had bound me down to it by all the Chains both of Duty and Pleasure, so that I could see no possibility to set my self free. I was twenty five Years of Age and upwards, and I saw 'twas now too late to begin to carry a Masket; but that which tortur'd me most of all, was this killing Reflection, *viz.* that I had spent so much of my Time in too eager a Pursuit of Pleasure, and thereby rivetted my own Chains; so that it look'd as if my Fate was resolv'd to fasten me to the Church, whether I would or no. You may imagine with what Satisfaction such Thoughts as these were accompanied, for this Confusion of Affairs gave me hopes of getting loose from my Profession with uncommon Honour and Reputation. I thought of Ways how to distinguish my self, pursued them very diligently, and you'll allow that nothing but Destiny broke my Measures.

The Mareschals * *de Vitri*, and † *Bassompierre*, the Count *de Gramail*, Monsieur *du Fargis*, and *du Coudrai Montpensier*, were then Prisoners in the *Bastile* upon different Accounts. But as length of Time makes Confinement less irksome, they were treated very civilly, and indulged with a great Share of Freedom. Their Friends came to see them, and sometimes dined with them. By means of Monsieur *du Fargis*, who had married my Aunt, I got acquainted with the rest, and by conversing with them, discovered very remarkable Emotions in some of them, upon which I could not help reflecting. The Mareschal *de Vitri* was a Gentleman of mean Parts, but bold, even to rashness, and his having been formerly employ'd to kill the Mareschal *d'Ancre*, had given him in the common Vogue, tho' I think unjustly, the Air of a Man of Business and Expedition. He appear'd to me enrag'd against the Cardinal, and I

* Nicholas de l' Hopital, Duke of Vitri, died the 28th of September, 1644.

† Francis de Bassompierre, born 1579, died 1646.

concluded he might do Service in the present Juncture; but did not address my self directly to him, and thought it the wisest Way first to sift the Count *de Cremail*, who was a Man of sound Sense, and could influence the *Mareschal de Vitri* as he pleased. He apprehended me at half a Word, and immediately ask'd me, if I had discover'd my self to any of the Prisoners; I answer'd readily, no, Sir, and I'll tell you my Reasons in a very few Words. *Bassompierre is a Tatler, I expect to do nothing with the Mareschal de Vitri, but by your means. I suspect the Honesty of Caudrai, and as for my Uncle du Fargis, he is a gallant Man, but has no Head-piece.* Who then do you confide in at *Paris*, says the Count *de Cremail*? I dare trust no Man living, said I, but your self. 'Tis very well, said he briskly, you are the Man for me, I am above 80 Years old, and you but 25, I'll qualify your Heat, and you my Chilness. We went upon Business, drew up our Plan, and at parting, he said these very Words, " Let me alone one Week, " and after that I will tell you more of my Mind, for " I hope to convince the Cardinal, that I am good for " something more than Writing the *Jeu de l'inconnu*, " (the Game of the Man unknown) You must know, that the *Jeu de l'inconnu*, was a Book, indeed very ill writ, which the Count *de Crémail*, had formerly published, and which the Cardinal had grossly ridicul'd. You'll be surpriz'd, without doubt, that I should think of Prisoners for an Affair of this Importance; but the Nature of it was such, that it could not be put into better Hands, as you will see by and by.

A Week after, going to visit the Prisoners, and *Cremail* and my self being accidentally left alone, we took a Walk upon the Terrals, where after a Thousand Thanks for the Confidence I had put him in, and as many Protestations of his readiness to serve the Count *de Soissons*, he spoke thus: " There is nothing but the " Thrust of a Sword, or the City of *Paris*, that can " rid us of the Cardinal: Had I been at the Enterprize " of *Amiens*, I think I should not have mis'd my Blow, " as those Gentlemen did. I am for that of *Paris* ; " it

“ it cannot miscarry, I have consider’d it well. See
 “ here what Additions I have made to our Plan. And
 thereupon he put into my Hand a Paper, in Substance
 as follows : “ That he had conferr’d with the Maref-
 “ chal *de Vitri*, who was as well disposed as any Body
 “ in the World, to serve the Count; that they would
 “ both answer for the Bastile, where all the Garrison
 “ was in their Interest; that they were likewise sure
 “ of the Arsenal; and that they would also declare
 “ themselves, as soon as the Count had got a Battle,
 “ on Condition that I made it appear before hand, as
 “ I had told him, (the Count *de Cremail*,) that they
 “ should be supported by a considerable Number of
 “ Officers, Colonels of *Paris*, &c. For the rest, this
 Paper contain’d many particular Observations on the
 Conduct of the Undertaking, and many Cautions re-
 lating to the Behaviour to be observed by the Count.
 That which surpriz’d me most of all was, to see how
 fully persuaded these Gentlemen were of carrying their
 Point with ease.

Tho’ it came into my Head to propose this Project
 to the Persons in the Bastile, yet nothing but the per-
 fect Knowledge I had of their Disposition and Inclina-
 tion, could have persuaded me that it was practicable.
 And I confess, upon perusal of the Plan prepared by
 Monsieur *de Cremail*, a Man of great Experience, and
 excellent Sense, I was astonish’d to find a few Prison-
 ers disposing of the *Bastile*, with the same Freedom, as
 the Governor of greatest Authority in the Place.

As all extraordinary Circumstances are of wonderful
 Weight in popular Revolutions, I consider’d that this
 Project, which was e’en ripe for Execution, would have
 an admirable Effect in the City. And as nothing
 animates and supports Commotions more, than the
 Ridiculing of those against whom they are rais’d, I
 knew it would be very easy for us to expose the Con-
 duct of a Minister, who had tamely suffer’d Prisoners
 to hamper him, as one may say, with their Chains.
 I lost no Time; afterwards I open’d my self to Mon-
 sieur *d’Estampes*, President of the great Council, and

to Monsieur *L'Ecuyer*, Dean of the Chamber of Accounts, both Colonels, and in great Repute among the Citizens, and I found them every Way answering the Character I had of them from the Count, *viz.* very zealous for his Interest, and fully persuaded that the Insurrection was not only practicable, but very easie. Pray observe, that these two Gentlemen, who made no great Figure, even in their own Profession, were perhaps two of the most peaceable Persons in the Kingdom. But there are some Fires which burn all before 'em. The main Thing is, to know and nick the critical Moment.

The Count had charged me to disclose my self to none in *Paris* besides these two; but I ventur'd to add two more, *viz.* *Parmentier*, Substitute to the Attorney General, and his Brother in Law *Epinai*, Auditor of the Chamber of Accounts, who was the Man of the greatest Credit, tho' but a Lieutenant, and the other a Captain. *Parmentier*, who, both by his Wit and Courage, was as capable of a great Action as any Man I ever knew, promised me that he would engage for *Brigalier*, Counsellor in the Court of Aides, Captain in his Quarter, and very powerful among the People, but told me at the same Time, that he must not know a Word of the Matter, because he was a mere Rattle, not to be trusted with a Secret.

The Count made me a Remittance of 12,000 Crowns, which I carried to my Aunt * *de Maignelai*, telling her, that it was a Restitution made by one of my dying Friends, who made me Trustee of it, upon Condition that I should distribute it among decay'd Families, who were asham'd to make their Necessities known, and that I had taken an Oath to distribute it my self, pursuant to the Desire of the Testator; but that I was at a loss to find out fit Objects for my Charity; and therefore I desir'd her to take the Care

* Margaret Claude de Gondi, Wife of Florimond d' Halluin, Marquiss de Maignelai, died 1650.

of it upon her. The good Woman was perfectly transported, and said she would do it with all her Heart; but because I had sworn to make the Distribution my self, she insisted upon it, that I must be present, not only for my Promise sake, but to accustom my self to do Acts of Charity. This was the very Thing I aim'd at, *viz.* an Opportunity of knowing all the Poor of *Paris*. Therefore I suffer'd my self to be carry'd every Day by my Aunt into the Out-parts, to visit the Poor in the Garrets; and I met very often in her House, People who were very well clad, and many whom I once knew, that came for private Charity. My good Aunt charged them always to pray to God for her Nephew, who is the Hand that God has been pleas'd to make use of for this good Work. Judge you of the Influence this gave me over the Populace, who are without comparison the most considerable in all publick Disturbances. For the Rich never come into such Measures, unless they are forced; and Beggars do more harm than good; because 'tis known they aim at Plunder; those therefore who are capable of doing most Service, are such as are not reduced to common Beggary, yet so streightned in their Circumstances, as to wish for nothing more than a general Change of Affairs, in order to repair their broken Fortunes. I made my self acquainted with People of this Rank for the Course of four Months, with an uncommon Application, so that there was hardly a Child in the Chimney Corner but I gratified with some small Token. I call'd them by their familiar Names. My Aunt, who always made it her Business to go from House to House to relieve the Poor, was a Cloak for all. I also play'd the Hypocrite, and frequented the Conferences of *St. Lazarus*.

Varicarville, and *Beauregarde*, my Correspondents at *Sedan*, assured me, that the Count *de Soissons* was as well inclined as one could wish, and that he had not waver'd since he had form'd his last Resolution. *Varicarville* said, that we had formerly done him horrible Injustice, and that they were now even obliged to restrain him, because he seem'd to be too fond of the Councils of *Spain*.

Spain and the *Empire*. Please to observe, that these two Courts, which had made incredible Sollicitations to him while he waver'd, began, as soon as they saw he was fix'd, to draw back, by a Fatality, which the phlegmatick Temper of the *Spaniard*, inseparably joins by the Name of Prudence, to the Politicks of the House of *Austria*. You may observe at the same Time, the Count, who had continued fix'd and unshaken three Months together, changed his Mind as soon as his Enemies had granted what he ask'd; which exactly comes up to the Character of an irresolute Man; who is always most unsteady, the nearer the Work comes to its Conclusion. I heard of this Convulsion, as one may call it, by an Express from *Varicarville*, took Post the same Night for *Sedan*, and arrived there an Hour after *Aretonville*, a Manager dispatch'd from the Count's Brother in Law, Monsieur * *de Longueville*. He came with some plausible but deceitful Terms of Accommodation, which we all agreed to oppose. Those who had been always with the Count press'd him strongly with the Remembrance of what he himself thought or said was necessary to be done, ever since the War had been resolv'd on. *St. Ibal*, who had been negotiating for him at *Brussels*, press'd him with his Engagements, Advances, and Sollicitations, insisted on the Steps I had, by his Order, already taken in *Paris*, on the Promises made to *de Vitri* and *Cremail* and on the Secret committed to two Persons by his own Command, and to four others for his Service, and with his Consent. Our Arguments, considering his Engagements, were very just and clear. We carried our Point with much ado, after a Conflict for four Days. *Aretonville* was sent back with a very smart Answer. Monsieur *de Guise*, who had join'd the Count, and was a Welwisher to a Rupture, went to *Liege*, to order the Levies: *Varicarville* and I returned to *Paris*, but did not care to tell my fellow Conspi-

* Henry of Orleans, the second of that Name, died 1663.

rators of the Irresolution of our Principal. Some Symptoms of it appear'd afterwards, but they soon vanish'd.

Being assured that the *Spaniards* had every thing in a Readiness, I went for the last Time to *Sedan*, to take my final Instructions. There I found *Meternic*, Colonel of one of the oldest Regiments of the *Empire*, dispatch'd by the General *Lamboy*, who was advanc'd with a Gallant Army under his Command, compos'd for the most Part of Veteran Troops. The Colonel assured the Count, that he was order'd to obey his Commands in every Thing, and to give Battle to the *Mareschal * de Chatillon*, who commanded the Army of *France* upon the *Meuse*. As the Undertaking at *Paris* had an entire Dependence on the Success of such a Battle, the Count thought it fitting that I should go along with *Meternic* to *Givet*, where I found the Army in a very good Condition. Then I return'd to *Paris*, and gave an Account of every Particular to the *Mareschal de Vitri*, who drew up the Order for the Enterprise. The whole City of *Paris* seem'd so dispos'd for an Insurrection, that we thought our selves sure of Success. The Secret was kept even to a Miracle. The Count gave the Enemy Battle, and won it. You now believe, without doubt, the Day was our own. Far from it, for the Count was kill'd in the very Crisis of the Victory, and in the midst of his own Men; but how, and by whom, no Soul could ever tell.

You may guess what a Condition I was in when I heard this News; Monsieur *de Cremail*, the wisest of us all, thought of nothing else now but how to conceal the Secret, which tho' known to only six in all *Paris*, 'twas too great a Number; but the greatest Danger of Discovery was from the People of *Sedan*, who being out of the Kingdom, were not afraid of Punishment. Nevertheless, every Body privy to it religiously kept it secret, and stood their Ground, which with another

* Gaspar de Coligni, the third of that Name, born 1584, died 1646.

Accident I shall mention hereafter, has made me often think and say it too, that Secrecy is not so rare a Thing as we imagine, with Men vers'd in Matters of State.

The Count's Death settled me in my Profession, for I saw no great Things to be done; and I found my self too old to leave it for any thing trifling. Besides, Cardinal *Richelieu's* Health was declining, and I already began to think my self Archbishop of *Paris*. I resolv'd that for the future I would likewise exercise my Profession. Madame *de Guimene* was retir'd to *Port Royal*, her Country Seat. Monsieur *d' Andilly* had got her from me. She neither powder'd nor curl'd her Hair any longer, and had dismiss'd me solemnly with all the Formalities requir'd from a sincere Penitent. I discover'd, by the Means of a Valet de Chambre, that

———— Captain of the Marechal's Guards, had as free Access to *Meilleraye's* Lady as my self. See what 'tis to be a Saint! The Truth is, I grew much more regular, at least, affected to be thought so, led a retir'd Life, stuck to my Profession, studied hard, and got acquainted with all that were famous either for Learning or Piety. I converted my House almost into an Academy; but took care not to erect the Academy into a rigid Tribunal. I began to be pretty free with the Canons and Curates, whom I found of Course at my Uncle's House. I did not act the Devotee, because I could not be sure how long I should be able to play the Counterfeit, but I had a high Esteem for devout People, which with such, is the main Article of Religion. I suited my Pleasures to my Practice, and finding I could not live without some Amorous Intrigue, I manag'd an Amour with Madame *de Pommereux*, a young Coquet, who had so many Sparks, not only in her House, but at her Devotion, that the apparent Business of others, was a cover for mine, which was, at least some Time afterwards, more to the Purpose. When I had succeeded: I was a Man in such Request among those of my Profession, that the Devotees themselves used to say of

me, with Monsieur Vincent, *Tho' I had not Piety enough, yet I was not far from the Kingdom of Heaven.*

Fortune favour'd me more than usual on this Occasion. I was at the House of Madame de Rambure, a precious and learned Hugonot, where I met with Messieurs, the famous Minister of Charenton. To satisfy her Curiosity, she engag'd us in a Dispute; we had nine different Conferences. The Mareschal de la Force, and Monsieur de Turenne * were present at some of them, and a Gentleman of Poitou, who was at all of them, became my Profelyte. As I was then but 26 Years of Age, this made a great deal of Noise, and, among other Effects, was productive of one that had not the least Connexion with its Cause, which I shall mention after I have done Justice to a Civility I received from my Antagonist in one of the Conferences. I had the Advantage of him in the fifth Conference, relating to spiritual Vocation; but in the sixth, treating of the Pope's Authority, I was gravell'd; because to avoid embroiling my self with the Court of Rome, I answer'd him on such Principles as are not so easie to be maintained, as those of the Sorbonne. The Minister perceived the Concern I was under, and generously forbore to urge such Passages as would have obliged me to explain my self in a Manner disagreeable to the Pope's Nuncio. I thought it extremely obliging, and as we were going out, thank'd him in the Presence of Monsieur de Turenne; to which he answer'd very civilly, *It had been a Piece of Injustice to hinder the Abbot de Retz, from being made a Cardinal.* This was such Complaisance, as you are not to expect from every Geneva Pedant. I told you before that this Conference produced one Effect very different from its Cause, and it is this, Madame de † Vendome, of whom

* Henry de la Tour d' Auvergne, born 1611, and kill'd 1675.

† Frances de Lorrain, Daughter to Philip Emanuel of Lorrain, Duke of Mercœur, and of Mary of Luxemburgh, died 1659.

you have heard, without doubt, took such a Fancy to me ever after, that a Mother could not have been more Tender. She had been at the Conference too, tho' I am very well assured she understood nothing of the Matter; but the favourable Opinion she had of me was owing to the Bishop of *Lixieux*, her spiritual Director, who, finding I was dispos'd to follow my Profession, which, out of his great Love to me, he most passionately desir'd, made it his Business to magnifie the few good Qualities I was master of; and I am thoroughly persuaded, that what Applause I then had in the World, was chiefly owing to his Encouragement, for there was not a Man in *France*, whose Approbation could give so much Honour. His Sermons had advanc'd him from a very mean and foreign Extraction (which was *Flemish*,) to the Episcopal Dignity, which he adorn'd with solid and unaffected Piety. His Disinterestedness was far beyond that of the Hermits or Anchorets. He had the Courage of St. *Ambrose*; and at Court, and in the Presence of the King, he so maintain'd his usual Freedom, that the Cardinal de *Richelieu*, (who had been his Scholar in Divinity) both reverenc'd and fear'd him. This good Man had that abundant Kindness for me, that he read me Lectures thrice a Week upon St. *Paul's* Epistles, and design'd to convert Monsieur de *Turenne*, and to give me the Honour of it.

Monsieur de *Turenne* had a great Respect for him, whereof he gave him very distinguishing Marks. The Count de * *Brion*, whom, I believe, you may remember under the Title of Duke d' *Amville*, was deeply in Love with Mademoiselle de *Vendome*, since Madam de *Nemours*; and besides, he was a great Favourite of Monsieur de *Turenne*, who, to do him a Pleasure, and to give him the more Opportunities to see Mademoiselle de *Vendome*, affected to be a great Admirer of the Bishop of *Lixieux*, and to hear his Exhortations with

* Francis Christofle de Levi, de Ventadour, died 1661.

World of Attention. The Count *de Brion*, who had been twice a Capuchin, and whose Life was a continual Medley of Sin and Devotion, pretended likewise to be much affected with Monsieur *de Turenne's* Conversion, and was present at all the Conferences held at Mademoiselle *de Vendome's* Apartment. *Brion* had very little Wit, but was a clever Tongue pad, and had a great deal of Assurance, which many Times supplies the Room of good Sense: This, and the Behaviour of Monsieur *de Turenne*, together with the Indolence of Mademoiselle *de Vendome*, made me think all was fair, so that I never suspected an Amour at the Bottom. The Bishop of *Lixieux* being a great Admirer of *Corneille's* Writings, and making no Scruple to see a good Comedy, provided it was in the Country among a few Friends, the late Madame *de Choisy*, proposed to entertain him with one at *St. Cloud*. Accordingly Madame took with her, Madame and Mademoiselle *de Vendome*, M. *de Turenne*, M. *de Brion*, *Voiture*, and my self; *Brion* took Care of the Comedy and Violins, and I to have a good Collation. We went to the Archbishop's House at *St. Cloud*, where the Comedians did not arrive till very late at Night. Monsieur *de Lixieux* admired the Violins, and Madame *de Vendome*, was hugely diverted to see her Daughter Dance alone. In short, we did not set out till peep of Day, (it being Summer Time, and the Days at the longest) and were got no farther than the Bottom of the Descent of *Bons-hommes*, when all on a sudden the Coach stopt. I being next to one of the Doors opposite to Mademoiselle *de Vendome*, bid the Coachman drive on. He answered as plain as he could speak for his Fright, What would you have me drive over all these Devils here? I put my Head out of the Coach, but being short-sighted from my Youth, saw nothing at all. Madame *de Choisy*, who was at the other Door with Monsieur *de Turenne*, was the first in the Coach, who found out the Cause of the Coachman's Fright, I say, in the Coach, for five or six Lacqueys behind it, were already crying, *Jesu Maria*, and quaking for fear. Madame *de Choisy* cry'd out, upon which Monsieur *de Turenne* threw himself out
of

of the Coach, and I thinking we were beset by Highway Men, leap'd out on the other Side, took one of the Footmen's Hangers, drew it, and went to the other Side to join *M. de Turenne*, whom I found with his Eyes fix'd on something, but what I could not see. I ask'd him what it was, upon which he pull'd me by the Sleeve, and said with a low Voice, I'll tell you, but we must not frighten the Ladies, who by this Time scream'd most fearfully. *Voiture*, began his *Oremus*, and pray'd heartily. You, I suppose, knew the shrill Tone of *Madame de Choisi*; *Mademoiselle de Vendome* was counting her Beads; *Madame de Vendome* would fain have confess'd her Sins to the Bishop of *Lixieux*, who said to her, Daughter, be of good Cheer, you are in the Hands of God. At the same Instant, the Count *de Brion*, and all the Lacqueys, were upon their Knees very devoutly singing the *Littany* of the *Virgin Mary*. *Monsieur de Turenne* drew his Sword, and said to me, with the calm and undisturbed Air he commonly puts on when he calls for his Dinner, or gives Battle, Come, let's go see who they are. Who should we see? said I, for I believed we had all lost our Senses. He answer'd, I verily think they are Devils: When we advanc'd five or six Steps forwards, I began to see something, which I thought look'd like a long Procession of black Phantoms; I was at first more frighten'd, if possible, than *M. Turenne*, because of this sudden Reflection, that I had often wish'd to see a Spirit, and that now perhaps, I should pay for my Incredulity, or rather, Curiosity. *Monsieur de Turenne* was all the while calm and resolute; I made two or three Leaps towards the Procession, upon which, the Company in the Coach thinking we were fighting with all the Devils, cry'd out most terribly; yet 'tis a Question, whether our Company was in a greater Fright than the imaginary Devils, that put us into it, who, it seems, were a Parcel of bare-footed reform'd *Augustin Fryars*, otherwise called the *Black Capuchins*, who seeing two Men advancing towards them with drawn Swords, one of them, detach'd from the Fraternity, cry'd out, Gentlemen, we

are poor harmless Fryars, only come to bathe in this River, for our Healths. Monsieur *de Turenne* and I went back to the Coach, ready to die with Laughing at this Adventure. Upon the whole, we could not help making this Reflection, that what we read in the Lives of most People is false. We were both grossly mistaken, I, for supposing him to be frighten'd, he, for thinking me calm and undisturb'd. Who therefore can write Truth better than the Man that has experienced it? The President *de Thou*, is very just in his Remark, when he says, *That there is no true History extant, nor can be ever expected, unless writ by honest Men, who are not afraid or ashamed to tell the Truth of themselves.* I don't pretend to make any Merit of my Sincerity in this Case; for I feel so great a Satisfaction in unfolding my very Heart and Soul to you, that the Pleasure is even more prevalent than Reason with me, in the religious Regard I have to the Exactness of my History. Mademoiselle *de Vendome* had ever after an inconceivable Contempt for the poor Count *de Brion*, who in this ridiculous Adventure had discover'd a Weakness not to be imagined; and as soon as we were got into the Coach, she banter'd and said in particular to me, I fancy I must be *Henry the IVth's* Grand-daughter by the Esteem I have for Valour. There's nothing can frighten you, since you are so undaunted on this extraordinary Occasion. I told her I was afraid, but being not so devout as Monsieur *de Brion*, my fears did not turn to Litanies: You had none, said she, and I fancy you don't believe there are Devils; for Monsieur *de Turenne*, who is very brave, was much surprized, and did not march on so briskly as you; I confess the Distinction pleas'd me mightily, and made me think of venturing some Compliments. I then told her, One may believe there is a Devil, and yet not fear him; there are Things in the World more terrible: And what are they, said she? They are so strong, said I, that one dare not so much as name them. She took me right, as she told me since, tho' she seem'd at that Time not to understand me.

Made-

Mademoiselle was not what they call a great Beauty, yet she was very handsome, and I was approved of for saying of her and Mademoiselle *de Guise*, that they were Beauties of Quality, who convinced the Beholders at first sight, they were born Princesses. Mademoiselle *de Vendome* had no great share of Wit, but her Folly lay as yet concealed, her Air was grave, tinged with State-lines, not the Effect of good Sense, but the Consequence of a languid Constitution, which sort of Gravity often covers a multitude of Defects: In the main, take her all together, she was really amiable.

Let me beseech you, Madame, with all Submission, to call now to mind the Commands you were pleas'd to honour me with a little before your Departure from *Paris*, that I should give you a precise Account of every Circumstance and Accident of my Life, and conceal nothing. You see by what I have related already, that my Ecclesiastical Occupations were diversified and relieved, tho' not disfigured with other Employments of a more diverting Nature. I observ'd a *decorum* in all my Actions, and where I happen'd to make a false Step, some good Fortune or other always retriev'd it. So that all the Ecclesiasticks of the Diocese wish'd to see me succeed my Uncle in the Archbishoprick of *Paris*; but Cardinal *de Richelieu* was of another Mind; he hated my Family, and most of all my Person, for the Reasons already mentioned, and was still more exasperated for these two which follow.

I once told the late President *de Mesmes*, what seems now to me very probable, tho' 'tis the Reverse of what I told you some time ago: *viz.* that I knew a Person, who had few or no Failings, but what were either the Effect or Cause of some good Qualities. I then said, on the contrary, to Monsieur *de Mesmes*, that Cardinal *de Richelieu* had not one great Quality but what was the Effect or Cause of some greater Imperfection. This, which was only *inter nos*, was carried to the Cardinal, I don't know by whom, under my Name; you may judge of the Consequences. Another thing that angered him was,
because

36 *Memoirs of the Cardinal de RETZ.*

because I visited the President * *Barillon*, then Prisoner at *Amboise*, for Remonstrances made to the Parliament, and that I should do it at a Juncture, which made my Journey the more taken notice of. Two miserable Hermits and False Coiners, who had some secret Correspondence with Monsieur † *de Vendome*, did, upon some Discontent or other, accuse him, very falsely, of having proposed to them to assassinate the Cardinal; and to give the more Weight to their Depositions, they nam'd all those they thought notorious in that Country; *Montresor* and Monsieur *Barillon*, were of the Number: Early notice of which being given me, the great Love I had for the President *Barillon*, made me take Post that Night, to acquaint him with his Danger, and get him away from *Amboise*, which was very feasible; but he insisting upon his Innocence, rejected my Proposals, defied both the Accusers and their Accusations, and was resolved to continue in Prison. This Journey of mine gave a handle to the Cardinal to tell the Bishop of *Lixieux*, that I was a cordial Friend to all his Enemies. True enough, said the Bishop; *Nevertheless you ought to esteem him; you have no reason to complain of him, because those Men, whom you mean, were all his true Friends, before they became your Enemies.* If it be so, reply'd the Cardinal, then I am very much misinformed. The Bishop, at this Juncture, did me all the kind Offices imaginable, and if the Cardinal had liv'd, he would infallibly have restored me to his Favour; for his Eminency was very well disposed, especially when the Bishop assured him, that tho' I knew my self ruin'd at Court to all intents and purposes, yet I would never come into the Measures of Monsieur § *Le Grand*. I was indeed importun'd by my Friend, Monsieur *de Thou*, to join in that Enterprize; but

* John James Barillon, President of the Inquests, died a Prisoner at *Amboise*.

† Cesar de Vendome, Son of Hen. IV. and of Sabriel d'Estrees, died 1667.

§ Monsieur de Cinq Mais, Henry Coeffier, call'd otherwise, Ruze d'Essial, Master of the Horse of France, he was beheaded Sept. 12. 1642.

I saw the Weakness of their Foundation, as the Event has shewn, and therefore rejected their Proposals.

The Cardinal *de Richelieu* died *Anno* 1642. before the good Bishop had made my Peace with him, and so I remain'd among those who had render'd themselves obnoxious to the Ministry. At first, this Character was very prejudicial to my Interest. Altho' the King was overjoyed at his Death, yet he nicely observ'd all the Appearances of Respect for his deceas'd Minister, confirm'd all his Legacies, carest his Family, kept all his Creatures in the Ministry, and affected to frown upon all who had not stood well with the Cardinal; but I was the only Exception to this general Rule. When the Archbishop * of *Paris* presented me to the King; I was treated with such distinguishing Marks of Royal Favour, as surpriz'd all the World. His Majesty talk'd of my Studies and Sermons, rallied me with an obliging Freedom, and bid me come to Court once every Week. The Reasons of these extraordinary Civilities were utterly unknown to us till the Night before his Death, when he told them to the Queen; I before pass'd them by in Silence, as having no coherence with my History. But I am oblig'd to insert them here, because they have been in their Consequents more fortunate than they seem'd to have any just claim to expect.

A little after I left the College, my Governor's Valet de Chambre, found at a poor Pin-maker's House, a Niece of hers, but fourteen Years old, that was surprizingly beautiful. After I had seen her, he bought her for me for 150 Pistoles, hir'd a little House for her, and plac'd her Sister with her; when I went to see her, I found her in great Heaviness of Mind, which I attributed to her Modesty. I next Day found what was yet more surprising and extraordinary than her Beauty, she talk'd wisely and religiously to me, and yet without Passion. She did not cry, but when she could not help it. She

* John Francis de Gondi, died 1654.

fear'd her Aunt to a Degree, that made me pity her. I admired her Wit first, and then her Virtue; for trial of which, I press'd her as far as was necessary, 'till I was e'en asham'd of my self. I waited till Night to get her into my Coach, and then carried her to my Aunt *de Maignelai*, who put her into a Convent, where she died 8 or 10 Years after, in great Reputation for Piety. My Aunt, to whom this young Creature confess'd, that the Menaces of the Pin-maker had terrified her so much, that she would have done whatsoever I would, was so affected with my Behaviour, that she went to tell it to the Bishop of *Lixieux*, who told it to the King.

The second Adventure was not of the same Nature, but it made as great an Impression on the King's Mind. It was a Duel I had with *Coutenau*, Captain of a Company of the King's light Horse, brave, but wild, who riding Post from *Paris*, as I was thither, made the Hostler take off my Saddle, and put on his; and upon my telling him, I had hired the Horse, he gave me a swinging Box on the Ear with his Arm, which fetch'd Blood. I instantly drew my Sword, and so did he. The first Thrusts we made, his Foot slipt; upon which he fell, and his Sword dropt out of his Hand. I retired a little, and bid him take it up; which he did, but it was by the Point; for he presented me the Handle, and begg'd a thousand Pardons. He told this little Story afterward to the King, with whom he had great Freedom. His Majesty was pleas'd with it, and remembered it in Time and Place, as you will see hereafter.

This good Reception I found at Court, gave my Relations some grounds to hope that I might have the *Coadjutorship* of *Paris*. At first, they found a great deal of Difficulty in my Uncle's narrowness of Spirit, which is always attended with Fears and Jealousies; but at length prevail'd upon him, and had then carry'd our Point, if my Friends had not given it out, much against my Judgment, that it was done by the Consent of the Archbishop of *Paris*; and if they had not suffered the *Sorbonne*, the Curates, and Chapter to return him their
Thanks,

Thanks. This Affair made too much Noise in the World for my Interest. For Cardinal *Mazarin*, *des Noyers*, and *Chavigni*, thwarted me, and told his Majesty, that the Chapter should not be entrusted with the Power of nominating their own Archbishop. And the King was heard to say, that I was yet too young.

But we met with a worse Obstacle than all from Monsieur *de Noyers*, Secretary of State, one of the three Favourite Ministers, who passed for a religious Man, and was suspected by some to be a Jesuit in Disguise. He had a secret longing for the Archbishoprick of *Paris*, which was just ready to drop, and therefore thought it expedient to remove me from that City, where he saw I was extremely beloved, and to provide me with some Post suitable to my Years: He got me propos'd to the King, by his Confessor, to be Bishop of *Adge*. The King readily granted it, which confounded me beyond all Expression. I had no Mind to go for *Languedoc*, and yet so great are the Inconveniencies of a Refusal, that not a Man had Courage to advise me to it. I became therefore my own Counsellor, and having resolv'd with my self, what Course to take, I waited upon his Majesty, and thank'd him for his gracious Offer, but said, I dreaded the Weight of so remote a Bishoprick, and that my Years wanted Advice, which is difficult to be had in Provinces so distant. I added to this, other Arguments, which you may guess at. I was in this Adventure also more happy than wise. The King continued to treat me very kindly. This Circumstance, and the Retreat of Monsieur *de Noyers*, who fell into the Snare that *Chavigni* had laid for him, renew'd my Hopes of the Coadjutorship of *Paris*. The King died about this time, *Anno 1643*. Monsieur * *de Beaufort*, who had been always devoted to the Queen's Interest, and even pass'd for her Gallant, imagin'd now to go-

* Francis Son of Cæsar of Vendome, he was kill'd in Candie, 1659.

vern the Kingdom, of which he was not so capable as his Valet de Chambre. The Bishop of * *Beauvais*, the greatest Idiot you ever knew, took upon him the Character of Prime Minister, and upon the first Day of his Administration, requir'd of the *Dutch* to embrace the *Roman Catholick* Religion, if they desired to continue in Alliance with *France*. The Queen was asham'd of this ridiculous Minister, and sent for me, to offer my † Father the Place of Prime Minister; but he refusing peremptorily to leave his Cell, and the Fathers of the *Oratory*, the Place was conferr'd upon Cardinal *Mazarin*.

You may now imagine, that it was no great Task for me to obtain what I desir'd, at a Time, that nothing was refus'd, which made *Feuillade* say, that the only Words in the *French* Tongue were, *La Reine est si bonne*: i. e. O! the good Queen.

Madame de *Magnelai*, and the Bishop of *Lixieux*, desired the Queen to grant me the Coadjutorship of *Paris* but they were repulsed, the Queen assuring them, that none should have it but my Father, who kept from Court, and would never be seen at the *Louvre*, except once, when the Queen told him publicly, that the King the very Night before he died, had order'd her expressly to have it dispatch'd for me, and that he said in the Presence of the Bishop of *Lixieux*, that he had me always in his Thoughts, since the Adventures of the Pinmaker, and Captain *Coutenau*. What Relation had these trifling Stories to the Archbishoprick of *Paris*? Thus we see, that commonly Affairs of the greatest Moment owe their Rise and Success to insignificant Trifles and Accidents. All the Companies went to thank the Queen. I sent 16000 Crowns to *Rome* for my *Bull*, with Orders not

* Austian Potier, *Uncle* to Rene Potier, St. de Blancmenil, President of the Parliament.

† Philip Emanuel de Gondi, Count de Joigni, he retir'd to the Fathers of the *Oratory*, and became Priest, died 1662, Aged 81.

to desire any Favour, lest it should delay the Dispatch, and give the Ministers time to oppose it. I receiv'd my *Bull* accordingly: and now you'll see me ascending the Theatre of Action, where you will find Scenes not indeed worthy of your self, but not altogether unworthy of your Attention.



MEMOIRS



MEMOIRS

OF THE

Cardinal *De RETZ*, &c.

BOOK II.

MADAME,

I Lay it down as a Maxim, that Men who enter upon Employments, should make it their chief Study to set out in the World with something uncommon, which may strike the Imagination of the People, and make themselves taken notice of. Thus I preach'd first upon *All-Saints-Day*, before an Audience which could not but be numerous in a populous City, where 'tis a Wonder to see the Archbishop in the Pulpit. I began now to think seriously upon my future Conduct. I found the Archbishoprick sunk both in its Temporals and Spirituals, by the Sordidness, Negligence and Incapacity of my Uncle. I foresaw infinite Obstacles to its Re-establishment,

Re-establishment, and perceived that the greatest and most insuperable Difficulty lay in my self. I consider'd that the strictest Morals are necessarily requir'd in a Bishop. I found my self the more oblig'd to be strictly Circumspect, as my Uncle had been very disorderly and scandalous. I knew likewise my own corrupt Inclinations would bear down all before them, and that all the Considerations drawn from Honour and Conscience, would prove very weak Fences. At last I came to a Resolution to go on in my Sins, and that designedly, which, without doubt, is the more sinful in the Eyes of God, but with regard to the World, is certainly the best Policy, because he that acts thus, always takes care beforehand to cover part of his Failings, and thereby to avoid the Jumbling together of Sin and Devotion, than which nothing can be more dangerous and ridiculous in a Clergyman. This was my Disposition, which was not the most pious in the World, nor yet the wickedest, for I was fully determined to discharge all the Duties of my Profession faithfully, and exert my utmost to save others Souls, tho' I took no care of my own. The Archbishop, who was the weakest of Mortals, was nevertheless, by a common fatality attending such Men, the most Vain-glorious. He yielded the Precedency to every petty Officer of the Crown, and yet in his own House, would not give the right Hand to any Person of Quality that came to him about Business. My Behaviour was the Reverse of his almost in every thing. I gave the right Hand to all Strangers in my own House, and attended them even to their Coach, for which I was cry'd up by some for my Civility, and by others for my Humility. I avoided to appear in publick Assemblies among People of Quality, till I had established a Reputation. When I thought I had so done, I took an Opportunity, at the Sealing of a Marriage Contract, to dispute my Rank with Monsieur de Guise. I had carefully studied the Laws of my *Diocese*, and got others to do it for me; and my Right was indisputable in my own Province. The Precedence was adjudg'd in my Favour by an Arrest of Council, and I found, by the
great

great Number of Gentlemen who then appeared for me *That to condescend to Men of low Degree, is the surest way to equal those of the Highest.* I dined almost every Day with Cardinal *Mazarin*, who liked me the better because I refus'd to engage my self in the *Cabal*, they call'd the *Importants*, tho' many of the Members were my dearest Friends. Monsieur *de Beaufort*, a Man of very mean Parts, was so much out of Temper, because the Queen had put her Confidence in Cardinal *Mazarin*, that tho' her Majesty offer'd him Favours with Profusion, he would accept none, and affected to give himself the *Airs* of a provoked Lover. He kept no Measures with the Duke of *Orleans*, insulted the late * Prince; and in order to support himself against the Queen Regent, the chief Minister, and all the Princes of the Blood, form'd a Cabal of Men, who all died Mad, and whom I never took for Conjurers from the first time I knew them. Such were *Beaupre*, *Fontrailles*. † *Fiesque*, *Montresor*, who had the Austerity of *Cato*, but not his Sagacity, and Monsieur *de Bethune*, who oblig'd Monsieur *de Beaufort* to make me great Overtures, which I receiv'd very respectfully, but enter'd into none. I told *Montresor* that I was indebted to the Queen for the Coadjutorship of *Paris*, and that That was enough to keep me from entering into any Engagement that might be disagreeable to her Majesty. *Montresor* said, I was not oblig'd for it to the Queen, it having been order'd before by the late King, and given me at a Crisis when she was not in a Condition to refuse it. I reply'd; "Permit me, Sir, to forget every thing that may diminish my Gratitude, and to remember that only which may encrease it." These Words were afterwards related to Cardinal *Mazarin*, who was so pleas'd with me, that he told them to the Queen.

* Henry of Bourbon, the second of that Name, died 1646, during the Regency.

† Charles Leon Count of Fiesque.

The Families of *Orleans* and *Conde* being united by Interest, made a Jest of that surly Look from which *Beaufort's* Cabal were term'd *Importants*; and at the same time artfully made use of the Grand Appearance which *Beaufort* (like those who carry more Sail than Ballast,) never fail'd to put on upon the most trifling Occasions. His Councils were unseasonable, his Meetings to no purpose, and even his hunting Matches became mysterious. In short, *Beaufort* was Arrested at the *Louvre*, by a Captain of the Queen's Guards, and carried, *September 2. 1643.* to *Vincennes*. The Cabal of *Importants* was put to flight, and dispersed; and it was reported over all the Kingdom, that they had made an attempt against the Cardinal's Life, which I don't believe, because I never saw any thing in confirmation of it; tho' many of the Domesticks of the Family of *Vendome*, were a long time in Prison upon this Account.

The Marquis *de Nangis*, who was enrag'd both against the Queen and Cardinal, for Reasons which I shall tell you afterwards was strongly tempted to come into this Cabal, a few Days before *Beaufort* was arrested, but I dissuaded him, by telling him: " That Fashion is
" powerful in all the Affairs of Life, but more remark-
" ably so, in a Man's being in Favour, or in Disgrace
" at Court; there are certain Junctures, when Disgrace,
" like Fire, purifies all the bad Qualities, and sets a
" Lustre on all the good ones; and also there are Times,
" when it does not become an honest Man to be out of
" Favour at Court. I applied this to the Gentlemen of the aforesaid Cabal.

I must confess, to the Praise of Cardinal *de Richelieu*, that he had form'd two vast Designs, worthy of a *Cæsar*, or an *Alexander*; that of Suppressing the Protestants had been Projected before by Cardinal *de * Retz*, my Uncle; but that of attacking the formidable House of *Austria*, was never thought of by any before the Cardinal.

* Henry de Gondi, deceased 1622.

He completed the first, and had made a great Progress in the latter.

That the King's Death made no alteration in Affairs, was owing to the Bravery of the Prince of *Conde*, and the famous Battle of *Rocroi*, in 1643. which contributed both to the Peace and Glory of the Kingdom, and covered the Cradle of the present King with Laurels. *Louis* the XIIIth his Father, who neither lov'd nor esteem'd his Queen, gave him a Council, upon his Death-bed, for limiting the Authority of the Regency, and nam'd the Cardinal *Mazarin*, Monsieur † *Seguier*, Monsieur ‖ *Boutillier*, and Monsieur *de Chavigni*; but being all *Richelieu's* Creatures, they were so hated by the Publick, that when the King was dead, they were hiss'd at by all the Footmen at *St. Germain's*, and if *de Beaufort* had had a Grain of Sense, or if my Father had but entred into the Administration, these collateral Regents had been infallibly expell'd with Ignominy, and the Memory of Cardinal *Richelieu* had certainly been branded by the Parliament with universal Joy.

The Queen was adored much more for her Disgraces than for her Merit. *Her Admirers had never seen her but under Persecution, and, in Persons of her Rank, Suffering is as one of the greatest Virtues.* People were apt to fancy, she was patient to a degree of Indolence. In a Word, they expected Wonders from her, and *Bautru* used to say, she had already work'd a Miracle, because the most Devout had forgot her Coquetry. The Duke of *Orleans*, who made a shew as if he would have disputed the Regency with the Queen, was contented to be Lieutenant General of the Kingdom. The Prince of *Conde* was declared President of the Council, the Parliament confirm'd the Regency to the Queen, without limitation. The Exiles were called home, Prisoners set at liberty, and Criminals pardon'd; they who had been

† Peter Seguier, died 1672.

‖ William de Bautru, Count of Serrant.

turn'd out, were replac'd in their respective Employments, and nothing that was ask'd was refus'd. The Happiness of private Families seem'd to be fully secur'd in the Prosperity of the State. The perfect Union of the Royal Family settled the Peace within Doors, and the Battle of *Rocroi*, was such a blow to the *Spanish* Infantry, as they could not recover in an Age. They saw at the Foot of the Throne, where the fierce and terrible *Richelieu* used to thunder, rather than govern, a mild and gentle * Successor, who was perfectly complacent, and extreamly troubled, that his Dignity of Cardinal did not permit him to be as humble to all Men, as he desir'd, and who, when he went abroad, had no other Attendants than two Foot-boys behind his Coach. Had not I then Reason for saying, that it did not become an honest Man to be ill with the Court at that time of Day? You'll wonder, no doubt, that no Body was then aware of the Consequence of Imprisoning Monsieur de *Beaufort*, when the Prison Doors were set open to all others. This bold Stroke, at a time when the Government was so mild, that its Authority was hardly felt, had a very great Effect. Tho' nothing was more easie, as you have seen, yet it look'd Grand, and all Acts of this Nature are very happy, because they are attended with Dignity, without any Odium. That which generally draws an unaccountable Odium upon even the most necessary Actions of Statesmen is, that in order to compass them, they are commonly obliged to struggle with very great Difficulties, which when they have surmounted, they are sure to be the Objects both of Envy and Hatred. When a considerable Occasion offers, where there is no Victory to be gain'd, because there is no Difficulty to Encounter, which is very rare, it gives such a Lustre to the Authority of Ministers, as is pure, innocent, and without a Shade, and not only establishes it, but derives upon their Administration the Merit of Actions which

* Cardinal Julius Mazarin, Minister of State, who died at Vincennes in 1661.

they

they have no hand in, as well as of what they have. When the World saw that the Cardinal had apprehended the Man who had lately brought the King back to *Paris*, with inconceivable Pride, Men's Imaginations were seiz'd with an astonishing Veneration. People thought themselves much oblig'd to the Minister, that some were not sent to the *Bastile* every Week; and the Sweetness of his Temper was sure to be cry'd up, whenever he had not an Opportunity of doing them harm. It must be own'd, that he had the Art of Improving his good Luck to the best Advantage. He made use of all the outward Appearances necessary to create a Belief that he had been forc'd to take these violent Measures, and that the Counsels of the Duke of *Orleans*, and the Prince of *Conde*, had determin'd the Queen to reject his Advice; the Day following, he seem'd to be more moderate, civil, and frank, than before; he gave free Access to all, Audiences were easily had, it was no more to dine with him than with a private Gentleman. He had none of that big look, so common to the meaner Cardinals. In short, tho' he was at the Head of every Body, yet he manag'd as if he was only their Companion. That which astonishes me most is, that the Princes and Grandees of the Kingdom, who, one would expect, more quick-sighted than the Vulgar, werè the most blind-ed. The Duke of *Orleans*, and the Prince of *Conde*, who was attach'd to the Court by his covetous Temper, thought themselves above being Rivall'd. The * Duke was old enough to take his Repose under the Shadow of his Laurels; Monsieur de § *Nemours*, was but a Child. Monsieur de *Guise*, lately return'd from *Brussels*, was govern'd by Madame † *de Pons* and thought to govern

* Henry de Bourbon, Duke d' Anguien, born 1646, died 1686. 'Tis of him we shall speak often in this History.

§ Charles Amadeus of Savoy, kill'd in a Duel by Monsieur de Beaufort 1650.

† Anne Pouffart, du Fort, du Vigean, a younger Sister to the beauteous Vigean, Widow to Francis Alexander d' Albert, Lord of Pons, She married 1649, Armand John de Wignerod, Duke of Richelieu.

the whole Court. Monsieur de Schomberg comply'd all his Life long with the Humour of those that were at the Helm. Monsieur de § Gramont was a Slave to them. The Parliament being deliver'd from the Tyranny of Richelieu, imagin'd the golden Age was returning, being daily assured by the Prime Minister, that the Queen would not take one Step without them ! *The Clergy, who are always great Examples of slavish Servitude themselves,* preach'd it to others, under the plausible Title of Passive Obedience. Thus both Clergy and Laity were, in an Instant, become the Devotees of *Mazarin*.

Being order'd by my Lord Archbishop of *Paris*, to take care of his Diocese in his Absence ; my first Business was, by the Queen's express Command, to visit the Nuns of the Conception, where, knowing that there were above fourscore Virgins, many of whom were very pretty, and some Coquets, I was very loth to go, for fear of exposing my Virtue, but I could not be excused, so that I went, and preserv'd my Virtue to my Neighbour's Edification, because for six Weeks together I did not see the Face of any one of the Nuns, nor talked to any of them but when their Veils were down, which gave me a vast Reputation for Chastity. I continued to perform all the necessary Functions in the *Diocese*, as far as the Jealousie of my Uncle wou'd give me leave ; and forasmuch as he was generally so pceevish, that it was a very hard matter to please him, I at length chose to sit still and do nothing. Thus I made the best use imaginable of my Uncle's ill nature, being sure to convince him of my honest Intentions upon all Occasions ; whereas, had I been my own Master, the Rules of good Conduct would have oblig'd me to confine my self to things in their own Nature practicable.

The Cardinal *Mazarin* confess'd to me, many Years afterwards, that this Conduct of mine, in managing the Affairs of the Diocese, tho' it did him no Injury, was

* Antony de Gramont, the third of that Name, created *Marschal of France*, Sept. 22, 1641 died 1678.

the first thing that made him jealous of my growing Greatness in *Paris*. Another thing alarm'd him, with as little Reason, and that was, my undertaking to examine the Capacity of all the Priests of my *Diocese*, a Thing of inconceivable Use and Importance. For this End, I erected three Tribunals, compos'd of Canons, Curates and Men of Religious Orders, who were to reduce all the Priests under three different Classes, whereof the first was to consist of Men well qualify'd, who were therefore to be left in the Exercise of their Functions; the second was to comprehend those, who were not at present, but might prove able Men in time; and the third, of such Men, as neither were now, nor are ever like to be so. The two last Classes being separated from the first, were not to exercise their Functions, but were lodg'd in separate Houses; those of the second Class, were instructed in the Doctrine; but the third, only in the Practice of Piety. As this could not but be very expensive, the good People open'd their Purfes, and contributed liberally. The Cardinal was so disturb'd when he heard of it, that he got the Queen to send for my Uncle upon a frivolous Occasion, who, for Reasons as frivolous, order'd me to desist. Tho' I was very well inform'd, by my good Friend the Almoner, that the Blow came from Court, I bore it with a great deal more Patience than was consistent with a Man of my Spirit, for I did not seem to take the least notice of it, but carry'd it as fair to the Cardinal as ever. But I was not so wary in another Case which happen'd some time after, for honest *Morangis* telling me, I was too extravagant, which was but too true, I answer'd him rashly, *I have made a Calculation that Cæsar, when at my Age, ow'd six times as much*. This was carried by an unluckly Doctor then present, to Monsieur * *Servien*, and he told it maliciously to the Cardinal, who made a Jest of it, as he had Reason, but took notice of it; for which I cannot blame him.

* Abel Servien, *Marquis de Sable*, died 1659.

Anno 1645. I was invited, as a Diocesan, to the Assembly of the Clergy, which I may truly say, was the Rock whereon the little Share of Favour I had at Court was *cast away*. Cardinal *de Richelieu* had given a cruel Blow to the Dignity and Liberty of the Clergy, in the Assembly of *Nantes*, and with very barbarous Circumstances, had banish'd fix of his most considerable Prelates. It was resolv'd in this of 1645, to make them some Amends for their Firmness on that Occasion, by inviting them to come and take their Places, (tho' they were not deputed,) among their Brethren. When this was first proposed in the Assembly, no Body dreamt that the Court would take Offence at it, and it falling to my Turn to speak first, I proposed the said Resolution, as the same had been concerted betwixt us before in private Conversation, and it was unanimously approv'd of by the whole Assembly. At my return home, the Queen's Purse-bearer came to me, with an Order to attend her Majesty forthwith, which I accordingly obey'd. When I came into her Presence, she said, she could not have believed I would ever have been wanting in my Duty, to that degree, as to wound the Memory of the late King, her Lord. I had such Reasons to offer, as she could not confute her self, and therefore referr'd me to the Cardinal; but I found he understood those things no better than her Majesty. He spoke to me with the haughtiest Air in the World, refused to hear my Justification, and commanded me, in the King's Name, to retract publicly, the next Day, in full Assembly. You may imagine how difficult it was for me to resolve in this Case. However, I did not break out beyond the Bounds of modest Respect, and finding that my Submission made no Impression upon the Cardinal, I got the Bishop of *Arles*, a wise and moderate Gentleman, to go to him along with me, and to join with me in offering our Reasons. But we found his Eminence a very *Ignoramus* in Ecclesiastical Polity. I only mention this, to let you see, that in my first Misunderstanding with the Court, I was not to blame; and that my Respect for the Cardi-

nal, upon the Queen's Account, was carry'd to an excess of Patience.

Some Months after, his profound Ignorance, and invenom'd Malice, furnish'd me with a fresh Occasion to try my Patience. The Bishop of *Warmia*, one of the Ambassadors that came to fetch the Queen of *Poland*, was very desirous to celebrate the Marriage in the Church of *Notre Dame*. Tho' the Archbishops of *Paris* never suffer'd Solemnities of this kind to be celebrated in their Churches by any but Cardinals of the Royal-Family, and tho' my Uncle had been highly blam'd by all his Clergy, for permitting the Cardinal de *Rocheboucaut* to marry the * Queen of *England*; nevertheless I was order'd, by a Letter de *Cachet*, to prepare the said Church of *Notre Dame*, for the Bishop of *Warmia*, which Order ran in the same Stile as that given to the Provost des *Merchants*, when he is to prepare the Town-house for a publick Ball. I shew'd the Letter to the Deans and Canons, and said, I did not doubt but it was a Stratagem of one or other of the Secretary of State's Clerks, to get a spill of Money. I thereupon went to the Cardinal, press'd him both with Reasons and Precedents, and said, that as I was his particular humble Servant, I hoped he would please to lay them before Her Majesty, making use of all other Perswasions, which I thought would dispose him to a Compliance. 'Twas then I learnt that he only wanted an Opportunity to embroil me with the Queen; for tho' I saw plainly that he was sorry he had given such Orders before he knew the Consequence, yet after some Pause, he reassumed his former Obstinacy to the very last Degree; and because I spoke in the Name of the Archbishop, and the whole Church of *Paris*, he form'd as much as if a private Person, upon his own Authority, had presum'd to make a Speech to him at the Head of 50 Malecontents. I endeavour'd, with all respect, to shew him, that our Case was

* *Henrietta Maria* of France, Daughter to Henry IV, died 1669.

quite different; but he was so ignorant of our Manners and Customs, that he took every thing by the wrong Handle. He ended the Conversation very abruptly and rudely, and referr'd me to the Queen. I found Her Majesty very much upon the fret, and all I could get out of Her was, a Promise to hear the Chapter upon this Affair, without whose Consent, I had declared, I could not conclude any thing.

I sent for them accordingly, and having introduced them to the Queen, they spake very discreetly, and to the Purpose. The Queen sent us back to the Cardinal, who entertain'd us only with Impertinencies; and as he had but a superficial Knowledge of the *French* Tongue, he concluded with telling me, that I had talk'd very *insolently* to him the Night before. You may imagine that Word was enough to shock me, but having resolved beforehand to keep my Temper, I smiled, and said to the Deputies, *Gentlemen, This is fine Language.* He was nettled at my Smile, and told me with a swell'd Tone, *Do you know who you talk to? I'll teach you how to live.* Now, I confess, my Blood began to boil. I told him that the Coadjutor of *Paris* was talking to Cardinal *Mazarin*; but that perhaps he thought himself the Cardinal * *de Lorraine*, and me the Bishop of *Metz*, his Suffragan.

Then we went away, and met the Marechal † *d'Estrees*, coming up to us, who came to advise me not to break with the Court, and to tell me, that Things might be accommodated. And when he found I was of another Opinion, he told me in plain Terms, that he had Orders from the Queen to oblige me to come to her. I went without more ado, accompanied by the Deputies, and found her more gracious and better humour'd than I am able to express. She told me, that she had a Mind to see me, not so much in relation to our Affair, which might be easily accommodated, as to reprimand

* Charles of Lorraine, Bishop of Metz.

† Francis Annibal d'Estrees, who died in 1670. Aged 98.

me for giving such Language to the poor Cardinal, who was as meek as a Lamb, and lov'd me as his own Son. She added all the kind things possible, and ordered the Dean and Deputies to go along with me to the Cardinal's House, that we might consult together what Course to take. This was so much against my Inclination, that I gave the Queen to understand, that no Person in the World, but Her Majesty, could have perswaded me to it. We found the Minister even milder than his Mistress. He made a World of Excuses for the Word *Insolent*, by which he said, and perhaps it may be true, that he meant no more than *Insolito*, a Word that imports somewhat *uncommon*. He shew'd me all the Civility imaginable, but instead of coming to any Determination, put us off to another Opportunity. A few Days after, a Letter was brought me at Midnight, from the Arch-bishop, commanding me to let the Bishop of *Warmia* perform the Marriage, without any more Opposition. Had I been wise, I had stopp'd there; because a Man ought in Prudence to make his Peace with the Court upon any Terms consistent with Honour. But I was young, and the more provok'd, because I perceiv'd that all the fair Words given me at *Fontainebleau* were but a Feint, to gain time to write about the Affair to my Uncle, then at *Angers*. However, I said nothing to the Messenger more than that I was glad my Uncle had so well brought me off. The Chapter being likewise serv'd with the same Order, we sent the Court this Answer, That the Archbishop might do what he list in the Nave of the Church, but that the Choir belong'd to the Chapter, and they would yield it to no Man but himself or his Coadjutor. The Cardinal knew the Meaning of this, and thereupon resolv'd to have the Marriage solemnized in the Chappel-Royal, whereof he said the great Almoner was Bishop. But this being yet a more important Query than the other, I laid the Inconveniences of it before him in a Letter. This nettled him, and he made a meer Jest of my Letter. I gave the Queen of *Poland* to understand, that if she was marry'd in that manner, I should be forc'd, even against my Will,

Will, to declare the Marriage void ; but that there remain'd one Expedient, which would effectually remove all Difficulties, *viz.* that the Marriage might be perform'd in the King's Chappel, and should stand good, provided that the Bishop of *Warmia* came to me for a License.

The Queen resolving to lose no more time to wait for new Orders from *Angers*, and fearing the least Flaw in her Marriage, the Court was oblig'd to comply with my Proposal, and the Ceremony was perform'd accordingly.

Not long after this Marriage, I was unhappily embroil'd with the Duke of *Orleans*, upon an Occasion of no greater Importance than my Footcloth in the Church of *Notre Dame*, which was by mistake, removed to his Seat. I complain'd of it to him, and he order'd it to be restor'd. Nevertheless, the Abbot de la *Riviere*, made him believe, I had put an Affront upon him, that was too Publick to be pardon'd. The Duke was too easie to believe it, and while the Courtiers turned all into Banter, swore he would receive Incense before me, at the said Church, for the future. Mean time, the Queen sent for me, and told me, that the Duke was in a terrible Passion, for which she was very sorry ; but that nevertheless, she could not help being of his Opinion, and therefore insist'd upon it, that I ought to give him satisfaction in the Church of *Notre Dame*, the Sunday following. Upon the whole, she referr'd me to Cardinal *Mazarin*, who declared to me at first, that he was very sorry to see me in so much Trouble, blamed the Abbot for having incensed the Duke, to such a Degree, and used all the Arguments he could to wheedle me to give my Consent to being degraded. And when he saw I was not to be led, he endeavour'd to drive me into the Snare. He storm'd with an Air of Authority, and would fain have bullied me into a Compliance : Telling me, that hitherto he spoke as a Friend, but that I had forced him henceforth to speak as a Minister. He also began to threaten, and the Conversation growing warm, he sought to pick a Quar-

rel, by insinuating, that if I would do as St. *Ambrose* did, I ought to lead a Life like him. As he spoke this loud enough to be heard by some Bishops at the other End of the Room, I likewise rais'd my Voice, and told him, *I would endeavour to make the best Use of his Advice; but he might assure himself, I was fully resolv'd so to imitate St. Ambrose in this Affair, that I might, through his means, obtain Grace to be able to imitate him in all others.* I had not been long gone home, but the *Mareschal d'Estrees*, and *Monsieur Senterre* came, furnish'd with all the Flowers of Rhetorick, to perswade me, that Degradation was honourable; and finding me immoveable, they insinuated that my Obstinacy might oblige his Highness to use Force, and order his Guards to carry me, in spite of my Teeth, to *Notre Dame*, and place me there on a Seat below his. I thought this Suggestion too ridiculous to mind it at first, but being forewarn'd of it that very Evening by the Duke's Chancellor, I put my self upon the Defensive, which, I think, is the most ridiculous piece of Folly I was ever guilty of, considering it was against a Son of *France*, and when there was a profound Tranquility in the State, without the least Appearance of any Commotion. The Duke, to whom I had the Honour of being related, was pleas'd with my boldness. He remember'd the Abbot *de la Riviere*, for his Insolence, in complaining that the Prince * of *Conti* was prick'd down for a Cardinal before him. Besides, the Duke knew I was in the right having made it very evident in a small Piece I had published upon this Head. He acquainted the Cardinal with it, said he would not suffer the least Violence to be offer'd me, that I was both his Kinsman and devoted Servant, and that he would not set out for the Army till he saw the Affair at an end. The Court was all in a Consternation, for fear of a Rupture, especially when the Prince of *Conde* had been inform'd by the Queen of what his Son had said; and when he came to my House, and found there

* Armand de Bourbon. died 1666.

60 or 80 Gentlemen, this made him believe that a League was already made with the Duke, but there was nothing in it. He swore, he threatned, he begg'd, he flatter'd, and in his Transports, he let fall some Expressions, which shewed that the Duke was much more concern'd for my Interest, than he ever yet own'd to me. I submitted that very Instant, and told the Prince, that I would do any thing, rather than the Royal Family should be divided upon my Account. The Prince, who hitherto found me immoveable, was so touch'd at my sudden surrender, in Complaisance to his Son, at the very time too when he himself had just assur'd me, I was to expect a powerful Protection from him, that he suddenly chang'd his Temper; so that instead of thinking, as he did at first, that there was no Satisfaction great enough for the Duke of Orleans, now he determined plainly in Favour of the Expedient I had so often propos'd, viz. That I should go and declare to him, in the Presence of the whole Court, that I never design'd to be wanting in the Respect I ow'd him, and that the Orders of the Church had oblig'd me to act as I did at *Notre Dame*. The Cardinal, and the Abbot *de la Riviere*, were enrag'd to the last Degree. But the Prince put them into such Fear of the Duke, that they were fain to submit. The Prince introduc'd me to the Duke of Orleans's House, where I gave them satisfaction before the whole Court, precisely in the Words abovementioned, His Highness was extremely satisfied with my Reasons, carried me to see his Medals, and thus ended the Controversie.

As this Affair, and the Marriage of the Queen of Poland, had embroil'd me with the Court, you may easily conceive, what turn the Courtiers gave to it. But here I found by Experience, *that all the Powers upon Earth can't hurt the Reputation of a Man, who preserves it established and unspotted in the Society whereof he is a Member*. All the Learned Clergy took my Part, and I soon perceiv'd, that many of those who had blamed my Conduct before, retracted. I made this Observation upon a Thousand other Occasions. I even

blig'd the Court, some time after, to commend my Proceedings, and took an Opportunity to convince the Queen, that it was my Dignity, and not any want of Respect and Gratitude, that made me resist the Court in the two former Cases. The Cardinal was very well pleas'd with me, and said in Publick, that he found me as much concern'd for the King's Service, as I was before for the Honour of my Character.

It falling to my turn to make the Speech at the breaking up of the Assembly of the Clergy at *Paris*, I had the good Luck to please both the Clergy and the Court. Cardinal *Mazarin* took me to supper with him alone, seem'd to be clear of all Prejudices against me, and, I verily believe, he was fully perswaded that he had been impos'd upon. But I was too much belov'd in *Paris*, to continue long in Favour at Court; this was my Crime, that render'd me disagreeable in the Eyes of a refined *Italian* States-Man, which was the more dangerous, as I omitted no Opportunity of Aggravating it by a natural and unaffected Expend, to which, my Air of Negligence gave a Lustre, and by my great Alms and Bounty, which, tho' very often secret, had the louder Eccho, whereas, in Truth, I did it at first only in Compliance with Inclination, and out of a Sense of my Duty. But the Necessity I was under of supporting my self against the Court, oblig'd me to be yet more liberal. I do but just mention this here, to shew you that the Court was jealous of me, when I never thought my self capable of giving them the least Occasion; which made me reflect, that a Man is oftner deceiv'd by distrusting, than by being over-credulous.

Cardinal *Mazarin*, who was born and bred in the Pope's Dominions, where his Authority has no Limits, took the rapid Motion given to the Regal Power, by his Tutor the Cardinal *de Richelieu*, to be natural to the Body Politick, which Mistake of his occasion'd the Civil War, tho' we must look much higher for its genuine Cause.

It is above 1200 Years since *France* has been govern'd by Kings, but they were not as absolute as they are now.

Indeed,

Indeed, their Authority was never limited by written Laws, as the Kings of *England* and *Castile*, but only moderated by receiv'd Customs, deposited, as I may say, at first in the Hands of the States of the Kingdom, and afterwards in those of the Parliament. The Registring of Treaties with other Crowns, and the Ratifications of Edicts for raising Money, are almost obliterated Images of that wise Medium between the Exorbitant Power of the Kings, and the Licentiousness of the People, instituted by our Ancestors. Wise and good Princes, found that this Medium was such a Seasoning to their Power, as made it delightful to their People: On the other Hand, weak and vicious Kings, always hated it as an Obstacle to all their Extravagancies. The History of the *Sire de Joinville*, makes it evident, that *St. Lewis* was an Admirer of this Scheme of Government; and the Writings of *Oresme*, Bishop of *Lisieux*, and of the famous *Juvénal de Ursinus*, convince us, that *Charles* the Fifth, who merited the Surname of Wise, never thought his Power to be superior to the Laws, and to his Duty. *Lewis XI.* more cunning than truly Wise, broke his Faith upon this Head as well as all others. *Lewis XII.* had restored this Balance of Power to its ancient Lustre, if the Ambition of Cardinal de * *Amboise*, who govern'd him absolutely, had not opposed it.

The insatiable Avarice of Constable † *Montmorency*, tended rather to enlarge than restrain the Authority of *Francis* the First. The long Views, and vast Designs of *Messieurs de Guise*, would not permit them to think of Bounding the Prerogative under *Francis* 2d. In the Reigns of *Charles* the 9th, and *Henry* the 3d, the Court was so fatigued with civil Broils, that they took every thing for Rebellion which was not Submission. *Henry*

* George d' Amboise, the first of the Name, 1498, Minister to *Lewis XII.* deceas'd 1510.

† Anne of Montmorency, Constable of France, 1538, died 1567.

the 4th, who was not afraid of the Laws, because he trusted in himself, shewed he had a high Esteem for them. The Duke of *Roban* used to say, that *Lewis* the XIIIth was jealous of his own Authority, because he was ignorant of its full Extent. For the Mareschal § *de Ancre*, and Monsieur † *Luynes*, were mere Dunces, incapable to inform him. Cardinal *Richelieu*, who succeeded them, collected all the wicked Designs and Blunders of the two last Centuries to serve his Grand Purpose. He laid them down as proper Maxims for the Establishing the King's Authority and Fortune, seconding his Designs, by the Disarming of the *Protestants* in *France*, by the Victories of the *Swedes*, by the Weakness of the *Empire*, and of *Spain*, he established the most scandalous and dangerous Tyranny that perhaps ever enslav'd a State in the best constituted Monarchy under the Sun. Custom, which has in some Countries inur'd Men even to broil, as it were in the Heat of the Sun, has made things familiar to us, which our Forefathers dreaded more than Fire it self. We no longer feel the Slavery, which they abhorred more for the Interest of their King, than for their own. Cardinal *Richelieu* counted those things Crimes, which, before him, were look'd upon as Virtues. The *Mirons*, *Harlays*, *Marillacs*, *Pibracs*, and the *Fayes*, those Martyrs of the State, who dispelled more Factions by their wholesome Maxims, than were rais'd in *France* by *Spanish* or *British* Gold, were Defenders of the Doctrine for which the Cardinal *de Richelieu* confined Monsieur the President *Barillon*, in the Prison of *Amboise*. And the Cardinal began to punish Magistrates for advancing those Truths, which they were oblig'd by their Oaths to defend at the Hazard of their Lives.

Our wise Kings, who understood their true Interest, made the Parliament the Depositary of their Ordnances,

§ Concino Concini, assassinated in the Liuvre, 1617.

† Charles d'Albert, Duke of Luynes, Constable of France, died 1621.

to the end they might exempt themselves from part of the Odium that sometimes attends the Execution of the most just and necessary Decrees. They thought it no Disparagement to their Royalty, to be bound by them, like to God, who always obeys what He has once commanded. Ministers of State, who are generally so blinded by the Splendor of their Fortune, as never to be contented with what the Laws allow, make it their Business to overturn them. And Cardinal *de Richelieu* laboured it more than any other, with equal Application and Imprudence.

God only is Self-existent and Independent; the most Rightful Monarchs and establish'd Monarchies in the World can't possibly be supported but by the Conjunction of Arms and Laws; an Union so necessary, that the one can't subsist without the other. Laws without the Protection of Arms, sink into Contempt; and Arms, which are not temper'd by Laws, quickly turn a State into Anarchy. The *Roman* Commonwealth being set aside by *Julius Caesar*, the supreme Power which was devolv'd upon his Successors by force of Arms, subsisted no longer than they were able to maintain the Authority of the Laws. For as soon as the Laws lost their Force, the Power of the *Roman* Emperors vanish'd, and the very Men that were their Favourites having got Possession of their Seals and their Arms, converted their Master's Substance into their own, and as it were, suck'd them dry under the Shelter of those repealed Laws. The *Roman* Empire formerly sold by Auction to the highest Bidder, and the *Turkish* Emperors, whose Necks are exposed every Day to the Bowstring, shew us in very bloody Characters, the Blindness of those Men, that make Authority to consist only in Force.

But what need we go abroad for Examples, when we have so many at home. *Pepin*, in Dethroning the *Merovingian* Family, and *Capet* in Dispossessing the *Carlovingians*, made use of nothing else but the same Power which the Ministers, their Predecessors, had acquir'd under the Authority of their Masters. And 'tis observable, that the Mayors of the Palace, and the Counts of
Paris,

Paris, placed themselves in the Thrones of Kings exactly by the same Methods that gain'd them their Master's Favours, *viz.* by weakning and changing the Laws of the Land, which at first always pleases weak Princes, who fancy it aggrandises their Power, but in its Consequence, gives a Handle to the great Men, and Motives to the common People, to rebel against their Authority. Cardinal *Richelieu* was cunning enough to have all these Views; but he sacrific'd all his Interest. He would govern according to his own Fancy, which scorn'd to be ty'd to Rules, even in Cases where it would have cost him nothing to observe them. And he acted his Part so well, that if his Successor had been a Man of his Abilities, I don't know but the Title of Prime Minister, which he was the first that assum'd, would have been as odious in *France* in a little time, as were those of the Mayor de *Palais*, and the Count of *Paris*. But, through the Providence of God, Cardinal *Mazarin*, who succeeded him, was not capable to give the State any Jealousie of his Usurpation. As these two Ministers contributed chiefly, tho' in a different Way, to the Civil War, I judge it highly necessary to give you the particular Character of each, and to draw a Parallel between both.

Cardinal *Richelieu* was well descended; his Merit sparkled even in his Youth. He was taken notice of in the *Sorbonne*; and it was very early observ'd, that he had a strong Genius, and a lively Fancy. He was commonly happy in the Choice of his Parties. He was a Man of his Word, unless great Interest sway'd him to the contrary, and in such a Case he was very artful to preserve all the Appearances of Probity. He was not liberal, yet he gave more than he promis'd; and knew admirably well how to season all his Favours. He was more Ambitious than was consistent with the Rules of Morality; altho' it must be own'd, that whenever he dispensed with them, in Favour of his extravagant Ambition, his great Merit made it almost excusable. He neither fear'd Dangers, nor yet despis'd them, and prevented more by his Sagacity, than he surmounted by his Resolution.

Resolution. He was a hearty Friend, and even wish'd to have been belov'd by the People; but tho' he had Civility, a good Aspect, and all the other Qualifications to gain that Love, yet he still wanted something, I know not what to call it, which is absolutely necessary in this Case. By his Power and Royal State, he debased and swallowed up the Personal Majesty of the King; he distinguished more judiciously than any Man in the World, between Bad and Worse, Good and Better, which is a great Qualification in a Minister. He was too apt to be impatient at meer Triffes, when they had relation to Things of Moment; but those Blemishes, owing to his lofty Spirit, were always accompanied with the necessary Talents of Knowledge, to make amends for those Imperfections. He had Religion enough for this World. His own good Sense, or else his Inclination, always led him to the Practice of Virtue, if his Self-interest did not byass him to Evil, which, whenever he committed, he did it knowingly. He extended his Concern for the State no farther than his own Life, tho' never Minister did more than he, to make the World believe he had the same regard for futurity. In a Word, all his Vices were of that kind, that they receiv'd a Lustre from his Great Fortune, because they were such as could have no other Instruments to work with but Great Virtues. You'll easily conceive, that a Man, who possess'd such excellent Qualities, and appear'd to have as many more which he had not, found it no hard Task to preserve that Respect among Mankind; which freed him from Contempt, tho' not from Hatred.

Cardinal *Mazarin's* Character was the Reverse of the former; his Birth was mean, and his Youth scandalous. He was Thresh'd by one *Moretto*, a Goldsmith of *Rome*, as he was going out of the Amphitheatre, for having play'd the Sharper. He was a Captain of Foot in the *Valtelline*, and *Bagni*, his General, told me, that while he was under his Command, which was but three Months, he was only look'd upon as a Cheat. By the Interest of Cardinal *Antonio Barberini*, he was sent Nuncio extraordinary to *France*; which was not got, in those

those Days, by fair means. He so tickled *Chavigni*, by his loose *Italian Stories*, that by his means, he got in with Cardinal *Richelieu*, who made him Cardinal, with the same View, which, 'tis thought, determin'd the Emperor *Augustus* to leave the Succession of the Empire to *Tiberius*. He was still *Richelieu's* obsequious humble Servant, notwithstanding the Purple. The Queen making choice of him, for want of another, his Pedigree was immediately deriv'd from a Princely Family. The Rays of Fortune having dazled him, and every Body about him, he lifted himself up, and they cry'd him up for a second *Richelieu*, whom he had the Impudence to ape, tho' he had nothing of him; for what his Predecessor counted Honourable, he esteemed Scandalous. He made a meer Jest of Religion. He promised every thing without Scruple, at the same time he intended to perform nothing. He was neither good-natur'd nor cruel, for he never remembred either good Offices or bad ones. He lov'd himself too well, which is natural to a fordid Soul, and fear'd himself too little, the true Characteristick of those that have no regard for their Reputation. He foresaw an Evil well enough, because he was commonly afraid, but never apply'd a suitable Remedy, because he had more Fear than Wisdom. He had Wit indeed, together with a most insinuating Address, and a gay courtly Behaviour; but a villainous Heart appear'd constantly through all, to such a Degree, as betray'd him to be a Fool in Adversity, and a Knave in Prosperity. In short, he was the first Minister that could be call'd a compleat Trickster; for which Reason, his Administration, tho' successful and absolute, never sat well upon him; for contempt crept insensibly into the Ministry, the most dangerous Disease of any State, and easily diffus'd its Poyson from the Head to the Members. You will not wonder therefore that there were so many unlucky cross Rubs in an Administration, which so soon followed that of Cardinal *de Richelieu*, and was so different from it. 'Tis certain, that the Imprisonment of *M. de Beaufort*, impress'd the People with such a Respect for *Mazarin*, as the Lustre of his Purple would
never

never have procured from private Men. *Ondedei* (since Bishop of *Frejus*,) told me, that the Cardinal jested with him upon Account of the Levity of the *French* Nation in this Point. And that at the End of four Months, the Cardinal set up, in his own Opinion, for a *Richelieu*, and even thought he had greater Abilities. It would take up Volumes to contain all his Faults, the least of which were very important in one Respect, which deserves a particular Remark. As he trod in the Steps of Cardinal *Richelieu*, who had compleatly abolished all the ancient Maxims of Government, he went in a Path surrounded with Precipices, which *Richelieu* was aware of, and took care to avoid. But Cardinal *Mazarin* made no use of those Props, by which *Richelieu* kept his Footing. For Instance, Tho' Cardinal *Richelieu* affected to humble whole Bodies and Societies, yet he studied to oblige particular Men, which is sufficient to give you an Idea of all the rest. He had indeed some unaccountable Illusions, which he push'd to the utmost Extremity. The most dangerous kind of Illusion in State Affairs, is a sort of Lethargy, that never happens but after very great Symptoms. The Abolishing of ancient Laws, the Casshing that golden Medium which was established between the Prince and the People, and the setting up a Power purely and absolutely Despotic, were the Original Causes of those Convulsions which were in *France* in the Days of our Forefathers.

Cardinal *Richelieu* managed the Kingdom as Mountebanks do their Patients, with violent Remedies, which put Strength into it, but it was only a Convulsive Strength, which exhausted its Vitals. The Cardinal *Mazarin*, like a very unskilful Physician, did not observe that the Vitals were decay'd, nor had he the Skill to support them by the Chymical Preparations of his Predecessor; his only Remedy was to let Blood, which he drew so plentifully, that the Patient fell into a Lethargy, and our Medicafter was yet so stupid, as to mistake this Lethargy for a real State of Health. The Provinces abandon'd to the Rapine of the Superintendants, were
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stified as it were, under the Pressure of their heavy Misfortunes; and the Efforts they made to shake them off, in the Time of *Richelieu*, did but add to their Weight and Bitterness. The Parliaments, which had so lately groaned under Tyranny, were in a manner insensible of present Miseries, by too fresh and lively a Remembrance of their past Troubles. The Grandees, who had, for the most Part, been banished the Kingdom, were glad to see themselves returned, and therefore took their twing of Ease and Pleasure. If our Quack had but humour'd this universal Indolence with Soporificks, their Drowsiness might have continued much longer; but thinking it to be no otherwise than natural Sleep, he apply'd no Remedy at all. The Disease gained Strength, grew worse and worse, the Patient awak'd, *Paris* was sensible of her Condition; she groan'd, but no Body minded it, so that she fell into a Frenzy, whereupon the Patient became raving Mad.

But now to come to Particulars. *Emeri*, Superintendent of the Finances, and in my Opinion, the most corrupt Man of the Age, multiplied Edicts as fast as he could find out Names to call 'em by. I can't give you a better Idea of the Man, than by repeating what I heard him say in full Council, *viz.* That Faith was for Tradesmen only, and that the Masters of Requests, who urg'd Faith to be observ'd in the King's Affairs, deserv'd to be punish'd. This Man, who had in his Youth been condemn'd to be hang'd at *Lions*, absolutely govern'd *Mazarin* in all the Domestick Affairs of the Kingdom. I mention this, among many other Instances which I could produce of the same Nature, to let you see, that a Nation does not feel the Extremity of Misery, till their Governors have lost all Shame; because that's the Instant when the Subjects throw off all Respect, and awake out of their Lethargy, tho' by Convulsions.

The *Swiss* seem'd as it were crush'd under the Weight of their Chains, when three of their powerful Cantons revolted, and form'd themselves into a League. The *Dutch* thought of nothing but an entire Sunction to the Tyrant Duke of *Alva*, when the Prince of *Orange*,
by

by the peculiar Destiny of Great Geniuses, who see further into possibility than all the World besides, conceiv'd and brought forth their Liberty. The Reason of all this is plain: That which causes a Supineness in Suffering States, is the Duration of the Evil, which inclines the Sufferers to believe it will never have an End; as soon as they have Hopes of getting out of it, which never fails when the Evil is come to a certain Pitch, they are so surprized, so glad, and so transported, that they run all of a sudden into the other Extreme, and are so far from thinking Revolutions impossible, that they suppose them easie, and such a Disposition alone, is sometimes able to bring them about; witness the late Revolution in *France*: Who cou'd have imagin'd three Months before the critical Period of our Disorders, that such a Revolution could have happen'd in a Kingdom, where all the Branches of the Royal Family were strictly united; where the Court was a Slave to the Prime Minister; where the Capital City, and all the Provinces, were in Subjection to him; where the Armies were victorious, and where the Corporations and Societies seem'd to have no Power? whoever, I say, had said this, I should have thought him a Mad-man, not only in the Judgment of the Vulgar, but in the Opinion of a *d'Estrees*, or a *Senneterre*.

In *August* 1647, there was a mighty Clamour against the Tariff Edict, imposing a General Tax upon all Provisions that came into *Paris*, which the People were resolv'd to bear no longer. But the Gentleman of the Council being determined to support it, the Queen consulted the Members deputed from Parliament, when Cardinal *Mazarin*, a meer Ignoramus in these Affairs, said, he wondered that so considerable a Body as they were, should mind such Trifles; an Expression truly worthy of *Mazarin*. However, the Council, at length imagining the Parliament would do it, thought fit to suppress it themselves by a Declaration in order to save the King's Credit. Nevertheless, a few Days after, they presented five Edicts, even more Oppressive than the Tariff, not with any Hopes of having them received,

ed, but to force the Parliament to restore the Tariff. Rather than admit the new ones, they consented to restore the old One, but with so many Qualifications, that the Court despairing to find their Account in it, publish'd an Arret of the Supreme Council, annulling that of the Parliament with all its Modifications. But that call'd the Chamber of Vacations, answer'd it by another, enjoining the Arret of Parliament to be put in Execution. The Council seeing they could get no Money by this Method, acquainted the Parliament, that since they would receive no new Edicts, they could do no less than encourage the Execution of such Edicts as they had formerly ratify'd: And thereupon, they trump'd up a Declaration which had been registred two Years before, for the Establishment of the Chamber of Domain, which was a terrible Charge upon the People, and of very pernicious Consequences, and which the Parliament had pass'd, either through a Surprize, or want of better Judgment. The People mutiny'd, went in Shoals to the Palace, and gave very ill Language to the President *de Thore*, *Emeri's* Son. The Parliament was oblig'd to pass a Decree against the Mutineers. The Court overjoyed to see the Parliament and the People together by the Ears, supported the Decree by a Regiment of *French* and *Swiss* Guards. The *Parisians* were alarm'd, and got into the Belfreys of three Churches in the Street of *St. Denis*, where the Guards were posted. The Provost ran to acquaint the Court, that the City was just taking Arms. Upon which, they ordered the Troops to retire, and pretended they were posted there for no other End, than to attend the King as he went to the Church of *Notre Dame*; and the better to cover their Design, the King went next Day in great Pomp to the said Church, and the Day after, he went to Parliament, without giving Notice of his coming till very late the Night before, and carry'd with him five or six Edicts, more destructive than the former. The first President spoke very boldly against bringing the King into the House after this manner, to surprize the Members, and infringe their Liberty of Voting. Next Day, the

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Masters of Requests, to whom one of these Edicts, confirm'd in the King's Presence, had added twelve Colleagues, met, and took a firm Resolution, not to admit of this new Création. The Queen sent for them, told them they were very pretty Gentlemen to oppose the King's Will, and forbad them to come to Council. Instead of being affrighted, they were the more provok'd, and going into the great Hall, demanded that they might have leave to enter their Protest against the Edict for creating new Members; which was granted.

The Chambers being assembled the same Day, to examine the Edicts which the King had caused to be ratify'd in his Presence, the Queen commanded them to attend her, by their Deputies, in the Palace Royal, and told them, she was surprized that they pretended to meddle with what had been consecrated by the Presence of the King. These were the very Words of the Chancellor. The first President answer'd, That it was the Custom of Parliament, and shewed the Necessity of it, for preserving the Liberty of Voting. The Queen seem'd to be satisfied, but finding, some Days after, that the Parliament was consulting so to qualify those Edicts, as would render them of little or no use, she order'd the King's Council to forbid the Parliament's meddling with the King's Edicts, till they had declared formally, whether they intended to limit the King's Authority. Those Members that were in the Court Interest, artfully made their Advantage of the Nonplus which the Parliament was at to answer the Question, and in order to soften Matters, tack'd a Clause to the Arrêts, which specified the Restrictions, *viz.* that all should be executed according to the good Pleasure of the King. This Clause pleas'd the Queen for a while; but when she perceiv'd that it did not prevent the Rejecting of almost any other Edict, by the common Suffrage of the Parliament, she flew into a Passion, and told them plainly, that she wou'd have all the Edicts, without exception, fully executed, without any Modifications whatsoever.

Not

Not long after this, the Court of Aids, the Chamber of Accompts, the Great Council, and the Parliament, made a Union, which was pretended to be for the Reformation of the State, but was more probably calculated for the private Interest of the Officers, whose Salaries were lessen'd by one of the said Edicts. And the Court being alarm'd and perplex'd to the last Degree by the Arret for the said Union, endeavour'd, as much as in them lay, to give it this Turn, to make the People have the worse Opinion of it. The Queen acquainted the Parliament, by some of the King's Council, that seeing this Union was entered into for the particular Interest of the Companies, and not for the Reformation of the State, as they endeavour'd to have persuaded her, she had nothing to say to it; forasmuch as every Body is at Liberty to represent their Case to the King, but never to intermeddle with the Government of the State. The Parliament did not relish this ensnaring Discourse; and because they were exasperated by the Court's apprehending some of the Members of the Grand Council, they thought of nothing but justifying and supporting their Arret of Union, by finding out Precedents, which they accordingly met with in the Registers, and were going to consider how to put it in Execution, when one of the Secretaries of State came to the Bar of the House, and put into the Hands of the King's Council, an Arret of the Supreme Council, which, in very injurious Terms, annull'd that of the Union. Upon this, the Parliament desired a Meeting with the Deputies of the other three Companies, at which the Court was enrag'd, and had recourse to this mean Expedient, *viz.* to get the very Original Arret of Union out of the Hands of the Chief Register; for that end, they sent the Secretary of State, and a Lieutenant of the Guards, who put him into a Coach to carry him to the Office; but the People perceiving it, were immediately up in Arms, and both the Secretary and Lieutenant were glad to get off.

After this, there was a great Division in Council, and some said, the Queen was disposed to Arrest the Parlia-

Parliament, but none besides her self was of that Opinion, which indeed, was by no means to be followed, considering how the People then stood affected. Therefore a more moderate Course was taken. The Chancellor reprimanded the Parliament in the Presence of the King and Court, and order'd a second Arret of Council to be read and registred instead of the Union Arret, forbidding them to assemble under Pain of being treated as Rebels. They met nevertheless, in Defiance of the said Arret, and had several Days Consultation, upon which, the Duke of *Orleans*, who was very sensible they would never comply, propos'd an Accommodation. Accordingly, Cardinal *Mazarin* and the Chancellor made some Proposals, which were reject'd with Indignation. The Parliament affect'd to be altogether concerned for the Good of the Publick, and decreed an Arret, obliging themselves to continue their Session, and to make humble Remonstrances to the King, for annulling the Arrets of Council.

The King's Council having obtain'd Audience of the Queen for the Parliament, the first President strenuously urg'd the great Necessity of inviolably preferring that golden Mean between the King and the Subject; proved that the Parliament had been for many Ages in Possession of full Authority to unite and assemble; complain'd against the Annuling of their Arret of Union; and concluded with a very earnest Motion for suppressing Arrets of the supreme Council made in Opposition to theirs. The Court being mov'd more by the Disposition of the People, than by the Remonstrances of the Parliament, comply'd immediately, and order'd the King's Council to acquaint the Parliament, that the King would permit the Act of Union to be executed, and that they might assemble, and act in Concert with the other Companies, for the Good of the State.

You may judge how the Cabinet was mortify'd, but the Vulgar was much mistaken to think that the Weakness of *Mazarin*, upon this Occasion, gave the least Blow to the Royal Authority. In that Conjunction, 'twas impossible for him to act otherwise; for if he had
conti-

continued inflexible on this Occasion, he had been certainly surrounded with Barricadoes, and reckoned a Mad-man. He only yielded to the Torrent, and yet most People accus'd him of Weakness. 'Tis certain this Affair brought him into great Contempt, and that tho' he endeavour'd to appease the People by the Banishment of *Emeri*, yet the Parliament perceiving how much they had the Ascendant of the Court, left no Stone unturned to demolish the Power of this overgrown Favourite.

The Cardinal made desperate by the ill Success of his Stratagems to create Jealousie among the four Companies, and alarm'd at a Proposition which they were going upon for cancelling all the Loans made to the King upon excessive Interest: The Minister, I say, being quite mad with Rage and Grief at these Disappointments, and set on by Courtiers, who had most of their Stocks in these Loans, made the King go on Horseback to the Parliament-House in great Pomp, and carry a wheedling Declaration with him, which had some Articles very advantageous to the Publick, and a great many others very ambiguous. But the People were so jealous of the Court, that he went without the usual Acclamations. The Declaration was soon after censured by the Parliament, &c. tho' the Duke of *Orleans* exhorted and prayed that they would not meddle with it, and threaten'd them if they did.

The Parliament also pass'd an Arret, importing, that no Money should be rais'd without Declarations verified; which so provok'd the Court, that they resolv'd to proceed to Extremities, and to make use of the signal Victory which was obtain'd at *Lens*, Aug. 24, 1648. to dazzle the Eyes of the People, and gain their Consent for the Oppressing the Parliament.

All the Humours of the State were so disturb'd by the great Troubles at *Paris*, the Fountain-head, that I foresaw a Fever would be the certain Consequence, because the Physician had not Skill to prevent it. As I ow'd the Coadjutorship of the Archbishoprick to the Queen, I thought it my Duty in every Circumstance, to
sacrifice

sacrifice my Resentment, and even the Probability of Glory, to Gratitude; and notwithstanding all the Sollicitations of *Montresor*, and *Laigues*, I made a firm Resolution to stick close to my own Business, and not to engage in any Thing that was either said or done against the Court at that Time. *Montresor*, had been brought up from his Youth in the Faction of the Duke of Orleans, and having more Wit than Courage, was so much the more dangerous an Adviser in great Affairs. Men of this Cast only advise Things, and leave them to be done by others; *Laigues*, on the other Hand, who was entirely govern'd by *Montresor*, had not much Brains, but was all Bravery, and fear'd nothing. Men of this Character dare do any thing they are put upon by those who confide in them.

Finding that my Innocence and Integrity gain'd me no Friends at Court, and that I had no good Usage to expect from the Minister, who mortally hated me, I resolv'd to be upon my Guard, by acting, in respect to the Court, with as much Freedom, as Zeal and Sincerity; and in respect to the City, by carefully preserving my Friends, and doing every thing necessary to get, or rather, to keep the Love of the People. To keep up my Interest in the City, I laid out 36 Thousand Crowns in Alms and other Bounties, from the 26th of March, to the 25th of August, 1648. And to please the Court, I told the Queen and Cardinal how the *Parisians* then stood affected, which they never knew before, thro' Flattery and Prejudice. I complain'd also to the Queen of the Cardinal's Cunning and Dissimulation, and made use of the same Intimations which I had given the Court, to shew the Parliament, that I had done all in my Power to inform the Ministry clearly of every Thing, and to disperse the Clouds always cast over their Understandings by the Interest of inferior Officers, and the Flattery of Courtiers. This made the Cardinal break off with me, and thwart me openly at every the least Opportunity, insomuch that when I was telling the Queen, in his Presence, that the People in general, were so sower'd, that nothing but Lenitives could abate their Rancour; he

answer'd me with the *Italian* Fable of the *Wolf*, who swore to a Flock of Sheep, he would protect them against all his Comrades, provided one of them would come every Morning and lick a Wound he had received from a Dog. He entertain'd me with the like Witticisms three or four Months together, of which, this was one of the most favourable; whereupon I made these Reflections: That *it was more unbecoming a Minister of State to say silly Things, than to do them; and that any Advice given him was Criminal.*

The Cardinal pretended, that the Success of the King's Arms at *Lens*, had so mortify'd the Court, that the Parliament, and the other Companies, who expected they would take a sharp Revenge on them for their late Conduct, would have the great Satisfaction to be disappointed. I own, I was Fool enough to believe him, and was perfectly transported at the Thought; but with what Sincerity the Cardinal spoke, will appear by and by.

On the 26th of *August*, 1648, the worthy *Broussel*, Counsellor of the Grand Chamber, and *Rene Potier*, *Sieur de Blancmenil*, President of the Inquests, were both taken up by the Queen's Officers. 'Tis impossible to express the sudden Consternation of both Men, Women, and Children, in *Paris*, at this Proceeding. The People stared at one another for a while, without saying a Word. But this profound Silence was suddenly attended with a confused Noise of running, crying, and shutting up of Shops, upon which, I thought it my Duty, to go and wait upon the Queen, tho' I was forely vex'd to see how my Credulity had been abused but the Night before at Court, when I was desired to tell all my Friends in Parliament, that the Victory of *Lens* had only dispos'd the Court more and more to Lenity and Moderation. When I came to the New-Market, in my Way to Court, I was surrounded with swarms of People, making a frightful Outcry, and had much ado to get thro' the Crowd, till I had told them the Queen would certainly do them Justice. The very Boys hiss'd the Soldiers of the Guard, and pelted them with Stones.

Their

Their Commander, the Marechal *de Meilleraye*, perceiving the Crowds began to thicken on all sides, was overjoy'd to see me, and would needs go with me to Court, and tell the whole Truth of the Matter to the Queen. The People followed us in vast Numbers, calling out *Broussel, Broussel*.

The Queen, whom we found in her Cabinet Council with *Mazarin*, &c. received me neither well nor ill, was too Proud, and too much out of Temper to confess any Shame for what she had told me the Night before, and the Cardinal had not Modesty enough to blush. Nevertheless, he seem'd very much confus'd, and gave some obscure Hints, by which I could perceive he would have me to believe, that they were very sudden and extraordinary Reasons which had obliged the Queen to take such Measures. I made as if I approv'd of what he said, and all the Answer I returned was, that I was come thither, as in Duty bound, to receive the Queen's Orders, and to contribute all in my Power to restore the Publick Peace and Tranquillity. The Queen gave a gracious Nod with her Head; but I understood afterwards that she put a sinister Interpretation upon my last Speech, which was nevertheless very inoffensive, and perfectly consonant to my Character, as I was Co-adjutor of *Paris*; but it is a true saying, that in the *Courts of Princes, a Capacity of doing Good, is as dangerous, and almost as criminal, as a Will to do Mischief*. The Marechal *de la Meilleraye* finding that the Abbot *la Riviere*, and others, made meer Jest and Banter of the Insurrection, fell into a great Passion, spoke very smartly, and appeal'd to me. I freely gave my Testimony, confirm'd his Account of the Insurrection, and seconded him in his Reflections upon the future Consequences. We had no other return from the Cardinal, than a malicious Sneer; but the Queen lifted up her shrill Voice to the highest Note of Indignation, and express'd her self to this Effect: *It is a Sign of Disaffection, to imagine that the People are capable of Revolting. These are ridiculous Stories, that come from Persons, who talk as they would have it: The*

King's Authority will set all to rights. The Cardinal perceiving that I was a little nettled, endeavour'd to sooth me by this Address to the Queen: *Would to God, Madame, that all Men did but talk with the same Sincerity as the Coadjutor of Paris! he is in great Pain for his Flock, for the City, and for your Majesty's Authority; and tho' I am perswaded the Danger is not so great as he imagines, yet his Scruples in this Case are to be commended in him, as laudable and religious.* The Queen understood the meaning of this Cant, recover'd her self all of a sudden, and spoke to me very civilly; to which I answer'd, with a profound Respect, and so innocent a Countenance, that *la Riviere* said, whispering to *Beautru*, "See what it is not to be always at Court! The Coadjutor knows the World, and is a Man of Sense, yet takes all the Queen has said to be in earnest." The Truth is, the Cabinet seem'd to consist of Persons acting the several Parts of a Comedy. I play'd the *Innocent*, but was not so, at least in that Affair. The Cardinal acted the Part of one who thought himself *Secure*, but was much less so than he appear'd. The Queen affected to be *Good Humour'd*, and yet was never more sower'd. *Monsieur de Longueville*, put on the Marks of *Sorrow* and *Sadness*, while his Heart leap'd for Joy; for no Man living took a greater Pleasure than he, to promote all Broils. The Duke of *Orleans* personated *Hurry* and *Passion* in speaking to the Queen, yet would Whistle half an Hour together with the utmost Indolence. The *Mareschal de Villeroy*, put on *Gaiety*, to make his Court the better to the Prime Minister, tho' he privately own'd to me, with Tears in his Eyes, that he saw the State was upon the Brink of Ruin. *Beautru* and *Nogent*, acted the *Buffoons*, and to please the Queen, personated old *Broussel's* Nurse (for he was 80 Years of Age) stirring up the People to Sedition, tho' both of them knew well enough, that their Farce might perhaps soon end in a real Tragedy. The Abbot *de la Riviere*, was the only Man that pretended to be fully perswaded that the Insurrection of the People was but Vapour, and he maintain'd it to the Queen,

who

who was willing to believe him, tho' she had been satisfy'd to the contrary; and the Conduct of the Queen, who had the Courage of an *Heroine*, and the Temper of *la Riviere*, who was the most notorious Poltroon of his Time, furnish'd me with this Remark, *That a blind Rashness, and an extravagant Fear, produce the same Effects, while the Danger is unknown.* The *Maréchal de Meilleraye*, assumed the Style and Bravadoe of a Captain, all on a sudden, when a Lieutenant Colonel of the Guards came to tell the Queen, that the Citizens threatned to force the Guards; and being naturally Hasty and Cholerick, was transported even to Fury and Madness: He cry'd out, that he would perish rather, than suffer such Insolence, and ask'd leave to take the Guards, the Officers of the Household, and even all the Courtiers he could find in the Antichambers, with whom he would engage to rout the whole Mob. The Queen was violently for it, but no Body else, and the Event discover'd that 'twas well they did not come into it. At the same Time enter'd the Chancellor, a Man who had never spoke a Word of Truth in his whole Life; but now his Complaisance yielding to his Fear, he spoke directly according to what he had seen in the Streets. I observed that the Cardinal was startled at the Boldness of a Man, in whom he had never seen any thing like it before. But *Senneterre* coming in just after him, removed all their Apprehensions in a Trice, by assuring them, that the Fury of the People began to cool, that they did not take Arms, and that with a little Patience all wou'd be well again.

There is nothing so dangerous as Flattery, at a Juncture where he that's flatter'd is in Fear, because the Desire he has not to be terrify'd, inclines him to believe any thing, that hinders him from applying any Remedy to what he is afraid of. The News that was brought every Moment, made them trifle away that Time which shou'd have been employ'd for the Preservation of the State. Old *Guitaut*, a Man of no great Sense, but heartily well affected, was more impatient than all the rest, and said, that he did not con-

ceive how it was possible for People to be sleepy in the present Condition of Affairs; he mutter'd something more, which I could not well hear, but it seem'd to bear very hard upon the Cardinal, who ow'd him no good Will. The Cardinal answer'd, Well, M. *Guitaut*, what wou'd you have us do? *Guitaut* said very bluntly, *Let the old Rogue Broussel be restor'd to the People, either dead or alive.* I said, that to restore him dead, was no way consistent with the Queen's Piety and Prudence; but to restore him alive, would probably put a Stop to the Tumult. At these Words the Queen reden'd, and cry'd aloud, I understand you Monsieur Coadjutor, You would have me set *Broussel* at Liberty, but I'll strangle him sooner with these Hands; (throwing her Head as it were into my Face at the last Word,) and those who — The Cardinal not doubting but she was going to say'all to me that Rage could inspire, advanc'd, and whisper'd in her Ear; upon which she became compos'd to such a Degree, that had I not known her too well, I should have thought her very easie. The Lieutenant *de Police*, came that Instant into the Cabinet, with a deadly pale Aspect. I never saw Fear so lively and ridiculously represented in any *Italian* Comedy, as the Fright which he appear'd in before the Queen. How admirable is the Sympathy of fearful Souls! Neither the Cardinal nor the Queen were much mov'd at what M. *de Meilleraye* had strongly urged to them; but the Fears of the Lieutenant seiz'd them like an Infection, so that they were metamorphos'd all on a sudden. They ridicul'd me no longer, and suffer'd it to be debated whether or no it was expedient to restore *Broussel* to the People before they took Arms, as they had threatn'd to do. Here I experienced, that it is more natural to the Passion of Fear, to consult, than to determine. The Cardinal propos'd, that I, as the fittest Person, should go and assure the People, that the Queen would consent to the Restoration of *Broussel*, provided they would disperse. I saw the Snare, but could not get off on't, the rather, because *Meilleraye* dragg'd me, as it were, to go along with him; telling her Majesty,

Majesty, that he would, in my Company, dare to appear in the Streets, and that he did not question, but we should do Wonders: I said, that I did not doubt it neither, provided the Queen would order a Promise to be drawn in due Form, for restoring the Prisoners, because I had not Credit enough with the People to be believ'd upon my bare Word. They prais'd my Modesty, *Meilleraye* was assur'd of Success, and they said, the Queen's Word was better than all Writings whatsoever. In a Word, I was made the Cat's Foot, and found my self under a Necessity of acting the most ridiculous Part that perhaps ever fell to any Man's Share. I endeavour'd to reply, but the Duke of *Orleans* push'd me out gently with both Hands, saying, *Go, and restore Peace to the State;* and the Mareschal hurry'd me away, the Life-Guards carrying me along in their Arms, and telling me, that none but my self could remedy this Evil. I went out in my Rochet and Camail, dealing out Benedictions to the People on my right and left, preaching up Obedience, exerting all my Endeavours to appease the Tumult, and telling them the Queen had assur'd me, that provided they would disperse, she would restore *Broussel*.

The Violence of the Mareschal hardly gave me time to express my self, for he instantly put himself at the Head of the Horse Guards, and advancing with Sword in Hand, cry'd aloud: *God bless the King, and Liberty to Broussel;* but being seen of more than he was heard, his drawn Sword did more harm, than his proclaiming Liberty to *Broussel* did good. The People took to their Arms, and had a Rencontre with the Marshal, upon which I threw my self into the Crowd, and expecting that both sides would have some regard to my Robes and Dignity, the Mareschal order'd the Light Horse to fire no more, and the Citizens with whom he was engag'd, held their Hands; but others of them continued firing and throwing Stones, with one of which I was knock'd down, and was no sooner got up, but a Citizen was going to knock me down with a Musquetoon: Tho' I did not know his Name, yet I had the Presence of Mind

to cry out, *Forbear, Wretch, if thy Father did but see thee*——He thereupon concluded I knew his Father very well, tho' I had never seen him; and I believe, That made him the more curious to survey me, when taking particular Notice of my Robes, he ask'd me if I was the Coadjutor? Upon which, I was presently made known to the whole Body, follow'd by the Multitude which way soever I went, and met with a Gang of Brokers all in Arms, whom, with abundance of Flattery, Caresses, Conjuraton, and Menaces, I prevail'd on to lay down their Weapons, and it was this which sav'd the City, for had they continu'd in Arms till Night, the City had certainly been plunder'd.

I went, accompanied by 30 or 40 Thousand Men without Arms, and met the *Mareschal de Meilleraye*, who, I thought, would have stifled me with Embraces, and said these very Words, *I am fool-hardy and brutish; I had like to have ruin'd the State, and you have sav'd it; come let us go to the Queen, and talk to Her, like true honest Frenchmen; and let us set down the Day of the Month, that when the King comes to Age, our Testimony may be the means of hanging up those Pests of the State, those infamous Flatterers, who pretended to the Queen, that this Affair was but a Trifle.* To the Queen he presently hurry'd me, and told her, *Here's the Man that has not only sav'd my Life, but your Guards, and the whole Court.* The Queen gave an odd Smile, which I did not very well like, but I would not seem to take any Notice of it; and to stop *Meilleraye* in his Encomium upon me, I assumed the Discourse my self, and said, *Madame, We are not come upon my Account, but to tell you that the City of Paris disarm'd and submissive, throws her self at your Majesty's Feet.* *Not so submissive as guilty,* reply'd the Queen, with a Face full of Fire, *If the People were so Raging as I was made to believe, how came they to be so soon subdued?* The *Mareschal* fell into a Passion, and said with an Oath, *Madame, an honest Man cannot flatter you when things are come to such an Extremity: If you don't set Broussel this very Day at Liberty, there will*

will not be left one Stone upon another in Paris, by to Morrow Morning. I was going to support what the Marechal said, but the Queen stopt my Mouth, by telling me, with an Air of Banter, *Go to rest, Sir, you have done a mighty Piece of Work.*

When I returned home, I found an incredible Number of People expecting me, who forc'd me to get upon the Top of my Coach, to give them an Account of what Success I had at Court. I told them, that the Queen had declar'd her Satisfaction in their Submission, and that she told me, 'twas the only Method they could have taken for the Deliverance of the Prisoners. I added other Persuatives to pacify the Commonalty, and they dispersed the sooner, because it was supper-time; for you must know, that the People of *Paris*, even those that are the busiest in all such Commotions, don't care to lose their Meals.

I began to perceive, that I had engag'd my Reputation too far, in giving the People any Grounds to hope for the Liberty of *Broussel*, tho' I had industriously avoided giving them my Word of Honour; and I apprehended, that the Court would lay hold of this Occasion to destroy me effectually, in the Opinion of the People, by making them believe, that I acted in concert with the Court, only to amuse and bubble them.

While I was making these and the like Reflections, *Montresor* came and told me, that I was quite mistaken, if I thought to be a great Gainer by the late Expedition; that the Queen was not pleased with my Proceedings; and that the Court was persuaded, that I did what lay in my Power to promote the Insurrection. I confess, I gave no Credit to what *Montresor* said, for tho' I saw they made a Jest of me in the Queen's Cabinet, I hop'd however, that their Malice did not go so far as to diminish the Merit of the Service I had done, and never imagined that they could be capable of turning it into a Crime. *Laigues* too came from Court, and told me, that I was publickly laugh'd at, and charg'd with having fomented the Insurrection, instead of appeasing it; that I had been worried two whole Hours, and expos'd to the

fine Raillerie of *Beautru*, to the Buffoonery of *Nogent*, to the Pleasantry of *la Riviere*, to the false Compassion of the Cardinal, and to the loud Laughter of the Queen.

You may guess that I was not a little moved at this, but rather felt a slight Temptation, than any Transport of Passion. All sorts of Notions came into my Mind, and all as suddenly pass'd away. And I sacrificed with little or no scruple, all the sweetest and brightest Images, which the Memory of past Conspiracies presented in Crowds to my Mind; as soon as the ill Treatment I now publickly met with, gave me reason to think, that I might with Honour engage my self in new ones. The Obligations I had to Her Majesty, made me reject all these Thoughts, tho', I must confess, I was brought up in them from my Infancy; and *Laigues* and *Montreux* could have never shaken my Resolution, either by Motives, or Reproaches, if *Argenteuil*, a Gentleman firmly attach'd to my Interest, had not come into my Room that Moment, with a frighted Countenance, and said, " You are an undone Man : The Mareschal de la Mail-
 " *leraye* has charg'd me to tell you, that he verily
 " thinks the Devil's in the Courtiers, who has put it
 " into their Heads, that you have done all in your Pow-
 " er to stir up the Sedition : that the Mareschal de la
 " *Meilleraye* had laboured earnestly to inform the Queen
 " and Cardinal of the Truth of the whole Matter, but
 " both had ridicul'd him for his attempt : That the
 " Mareschal said, he could not excuse the Injury they
 " did me, but cou'd not sufficiently admire the Con-
 " tempt they always had for the Tumult of, which they
 " foretold the Consequence, as if they had the Gift of
 " Prophecy, always affirming that it would vanish in a
 " Night, as it really had, for he hardly met a Soul in
 " the Streets. He added, that Fires, so quickly ex-
 " tinguish'd as this, were not like to break out again;
 " that he conjur'd me to provide for my own safety :
 " That the King's Authority would shine out the next
 " Day, with all the Lustre imaginable; that the Court
 " seem'd resolv'd not to let slip this fatal Conjunction;
 " and that I was to be made the first publick Example.

" *Argen-*

“ *Argenteuil*, added, *Villeroy* did not tell me so much, because he durst not, but he so squeez’d my Hand *en passant*, that I am apt to think, he knows a great deal more; and I must tell you, says *Argenteuil*, they have very good Reason for their Apprehensions, because there’s not a Soul to be seen in the Streets, and to Morrow they may take up whom they list.” *Montresor*, who wou’d be thought to know all things beforehand, said, that he was assured it would be so, and that he had foretold it. *Laigues* bewail’d my Conduct, which, said he, has rais’d the Compassion of all my Friends, altho’ it has been their ruine. Upon this, I desir’d to be left about a Quarter of an Hour to my self, during which, reflecting how I had been provok’d, and the Publick threaten’d, my Scruples vanish’d; I gave the loose to all my Thoughts; recollected all the glorious Idea’s which had ever enter’d my Imagination as most proportionable to vast Designs; and suffer’d my Mind to be regaled with the tickling Hopes of being the Head of a Party, which I had always admir’d in the Lives of *Plutarch*. The Inconsistency of my Scheme with my Character, made me tremble. A World of Incidents may happen when the Virtues in the Leader of a Party, may be Vices in an Archbishop. I had this View a thousand Times, and it always gave place to the Duty I thought I ow’d to Her Majesty; but the Remembrance of what pass’d at the Queen’s Table, and the Resolution there taken to ruine me with the Publick, having banish’d all Scruples, I joyfully determin’d to abandon my Destiny to all the Impulses of Glory. I said to my Friends, that the whole Court was witness of the injurious Treatment I had met with for above a Year in the King’s Palace, the Publick is engag’d to defend my Honour; but the Publick being now to be sacrific’d, I am oblig’d to defend it against Oppression. Our Circumstances are not so bad as you imagine, Gentlemen, and before twelve a Clock to Morrow, I shall be Master of *Paris*.

My

My two Friends thought I was Mad, and began to preach up Moderation, whereas before they always teiz'd me to Action, but I did not give them the Hearing. I immediately sent for *Miron*, Accomptant General, one of the City Colonels, a Man of Probity and Courage, and of great Interest with the People. Him I consulted with, and he executed his Commission with so much Discretion and Bravery, that above 400 considerable Citizens were posted up and down in Platoons, with no more Noise and Stir, than if so many *Carthusian* Novices had been assembled for Contemplation. After having given Orders for securing certain Gates and Bars of the City, I went to sleep, and was told next Morning, that no Soldiers had appear'd all Night, except a few Troopers, who just took a View of the Platoons of the Citizens, and then gallop'd off. From hence it was inferr'd, that our Precautions had prevented the Execution of the Design form'd against particular Persons, but it was believ'd there was some Mischief hatching at the Chancellor's against the Publick; because Serjeants were running backward and forward, and *Ondedei* went thither four times in two Hours. Being informed soon after that the Chancellor was going to the Palace with all the Pomp of Magistracy, and that two Companies of *Swiss* Guards approach'd the Suburbs, I gave my Orders in two Words, which were executed in two Minutes. *Miron* order'd the Citizens to take Arms, and *Argenteuil*, disguis'd in a Mason's Habit, with a Rule in his Hand, charg'd the *Swiss* in Flank, kill'd 20 or 30, took one of the Colours, and dispers'd the rest. The Chancellor hemm'd in on every side, narrowly escaped with his Life to the *Hotel d'O*, which the People broke open, rush'd in with Fury, and as God would have it, fell immediately to Plundering, so that they forgot to force open a little Chamber, where both the Chancellor, and his Brother the Bishop of *Meaux*, to whom he was confessing, lay conceal'd. This ran like Wildfire through the whole City, Men, Women, and Children, were immediately up in Arms, for even the Mothers put

Daggers

Daggers into the Hands of their Children ; and in less than two Hours, there were erected above 200 Barricadoes, adorned with all the Standards and Colours that the League had left entire. All the Cry was, *God bless the King*, sometimes, *God bless the Coadjutor*, and all the Eccho, *No Mazarin*.

The Queen sent her Commands to me, to use my Interest to appease the Tumult. I answer'd the Messenger very coolly, that I had forfeited my Credit with the People, upon Account of yesterday's Transactions, and that I did not dare to go abroad. The Messenger had heard the Cry of, *God bless the Coadjutor*, and would fain have persuaded me that I was the Favourite of the People ; but I strove as much to convince him of the contrary.

The Court Minions of the two last Centuries, knew not what they did, when they reduced that effectual Regard which Kings ought to have for their Subjects into meer Style and Form ; for there are, as you see, certain Conjunctions, in which, by a necessary Consequence, Subjects make a meer Form also of the real Obedience which they owe their Sovereigns.

The Parliament hearing the Cries of the People for *Broussel*, *Broussel*, after having order'd a Decree against *Cominges*, Lieutenant of the Queen's Guards, who had arrested him, made it Death for all who took the like Commissions for the future, and that an Information should be drawn up against those who had given that Advice, as Disturbers of the publick Peace, and went in a Body, in their Robes, to the Queen, with their first President at the Head, being saluted with the Shouts of the People, who open'd all their Barricadoes to let them pass. The first President represented to the Queen, with a becoming Freedom, that the Royal Word had been prostituted a thousand Times over by scandalous and even childish Evasions, defeating Resolutions the most useful and necessary for the State. He strongly exaggerated the mighty Danger of the State, from the City's being all in Arms ; but the Queen, who fear'd nothing, because she knew little, flew into a Passion, and rav'd
like

like a Fury, saying, I know too well that there is an Uproar in the City; but you Parliamentarians, together with your Wives and Children, shall be answerable for it all. And with that she retir'd into another Chamber, and clapp'd the Door after her with Violence. The Members, who were about 160 in Number, were going down Stairs; but the first President persuaded them to go up, and try the Queen once more; and meeting with the Duke of Orleans, he, with a great deal of Persuasion, introduced Twenty of them into the Presence Chamber, where the first President made another Effort with the Queen, by setting forth the Terrors of the enrag'd Metropolis up in Arms; but she would hear nothing, and threw herself into the little Gallery.

Upon this, the Cardinal advanced, and propos'd to surrender the Prisoner, provided the Parliament would promise to hold no more Assemblies. They were going to consider of the Proposal upon the Spot, but thinking that the People wou'd be inclin'd to believe that the Parliament had been forc'd, if they gave their Votes at the Palace Royal, they resolv'd to adjourn to their own House.

The Parliament returning, and saying nothing of the Liberty of *Broussel*, found a silent Murmur among the People instead of loud Acclamations. They satisfied those at the two first Barricadoes, by telling them, that the Queen had promis'd Satisfaction; but those of the third, would not be paid in that Coin; for a Journey-Man Cook, advancing with 200 Men, put his Halbert to the Belly of the first President, saying, Go back, Traytor; and if thou hast a Mind to save thy Life, bring us *Broussel*, or else *Mazarin*, and the Chancellor, as Hostages. Upon this, five Presidents, *au Mortier*, and about 20 Counsellors, fell back into the Crowd, to make their escape; the first President only, the most undaunted Man of the Age, continued firm and intrepid. He rallied the Members as well as he could, maintaining still the Authority of a Magistrate, both in his Words and Behaviour, and went leisurly back to the King's Palace,

face, thro' Vollies of Abuses, Menaces, Curses, and Blasphemies. He had a kind of Eloquence peculiar to himself, knew nothing of Interjections, was not very exact in his Speech, but the force of it made amends for that; and being naturally bold, never spoke so well as when he was in Danger, insomuch, that when he return'd to the Palace, he even outdid himself, for 'tis certain that he mov'd the Hearts of all present, except the Queen, who continued inflexible. The Duke of Orleans was going to throw himself at her Feet, which four or five Princesses, trembling with fear, actually did. The Cardinal, whom a young Counsellor merrily advis'd to go out into the Streets, and see how the People stood affected, did at last join with the Bulk of the Court, and with much ado, the Queen condescended to bid the Members go and consult what was fitting to be done, agreed to set the Prisoners at Liberty, restor'd *Broussel* to the People, who carry'd him upon their Heads with prodigious Acclamations, broke down their Barricadoes, open'd their Shops, and in two Hours, *Paris* was more quiet than ever I saw it upon *Good-Friday*.

As to the *Primum Mobile* of this Revolution, it was owing to no other Cause than a Deviation from the Laws, which so insensibly alter the Opinions of the People, that many times a Faction is form'd before the Change is so much as perceiv'd.

This little Reflection, with what has been said, may serve to confute those, who pretend, that a Faction, without a Head, is never to be fear'd. They grow up sometimes in a Night. The Commotion I have been speaking of, which was so violent and lasting, did not appear to have any Leader for a whole Year; but at last, there rose up, in one Moment, a much greater Number than was necessary for the Party.

The Morning after the Barricadoes were removed, the Queen sent for me, treated me with all the Marks of Kindness and Confidence, said, that if she had hearken'd to me, she had not fallen into the late Inconveniency; that the poor Cardinal was not to blame for it; but that *Chavigny* had been the only Cause of her Misfortunes,

to whose pernicious Counsels she paid more Deference than to the Cardinal. But good God, says she, on a sudden, will not you get that Rogue *Beautru* soundly thrash'd, who has paid so little Respect to your Character; the poor Cardinal was very near having it done t'other Night. I receiv'd all this with more Respect than Credulity. She commanded me to go to the poor Cardinal, to comfort him, and advise with him what was the best way to make the People easie.

I went without any Scruple. He embrac'd me with a Tendernefs I am not able to exprefs, said there was not an honest Man in *France* but my self, and that all the rest were infamous Flatterers, who had misled the Queen, in spite of all his and my good Counsels. He protested that he would do nothing for the Future without my Advice, shew'd me the Foreign Dispatches, and in short, was so impertinent, that honest *Broussel*, who was likewise present, upon his Invitation, for all his harmless Simplicity, laugh'd heartily, as we were going out, and said, 'twas all meer Buffoonry.

There being a Report that the King was to be remov'd by the Court, from *Paris*, the Queen assured the *Provost des Merchands*, that it was false; and yet the very next Day carry'd him to *Ruel*. From hence, I did not doubt, but she design'd to surprize the City, which seem'd really astonish'd at the King's Departure, and I found the hottest Members of the Parliament, in a great Consternation, and by so much the more, because News arriv'd at the same time, that General * *Erlac* had pass'd the *Somme* with 4000 *Germans*; now, as in general Disturbances, one Piece of bad News seldom comes alone, five or six Stories of this kind were publish'd at the same time, which made me think I should find it as difficult a Task to support the Spirits of the People, as I had before to restrain them. I was never so nonplus'd in all my

* He was Governor of *Brisac*, and commanded the Forces of the Duke of *Weymar*, after the Decease of the said Duke.

Life: I saw Danger in its full Extent, and every thing look'd terrible: *Yet the greatest Dangers have their Charms, if but never so little Glory is discovered in the Prospect of bad Success, while the least Dangers have nothing but Horror, when Ill-success is attended with Loss of Reputation.*

I us'd all the Arguments I could to dissuade the Parliament from making the Court desperate, till they had thought of some Expedients, at least, to defend themselves from its Insults, to which they would infallibly have been expos'd, if the Court had taken Time by the Forelock, in which, perhaps, they were prevented by the unexpected Return of the Prince of Conti. I here-upon form'd a Resolution, which gave me a great deal of Uneasiness, but was good, because it was the only Resolution I had to take. *Extremities are always Disagreeable, but are the wisest Means, when altogether necessary; the best of it is, they admit of no Medium, and if peradventure they are good, they are always decisive.* Fortune favour'd my Design. The Queen order'd *Chavigny* to be sent Prisoner to *Havre de Grace*. I laid hold of this Occasion, to stir up the natural Fears of his dear Friend *Viole*, by telling him, That he was an undone Man, for doing what he had done, by the Instigation of *Chavigny*. That it was plain, the King left *Paris* with a View to attack it, and that he saw, as well as I, how much the People were dejected; that if their Spirits should be quite sunk, they could never be rais'd; that they must be supported; that I would influence the People; and that he should do what he could with the Parliament, who, in my Opinion, ought not to be supine, but to be awaken'd, at a Juncture when the King's Departure had perfectly drown'd their Senses; adding, that a Word in Season would infallibly produce this good Effect. Accordingly, *Viole* struck one of the boldest Strokes that has perhaps been heard of. He told the Parliament, that it was reported, *Paris* was to be besieg'd; that Troops were marching for that end, and the most faithful Servants of his late Majesty, who, 'twas suspected, would oppose Designs so pernicious, put in Chains.

Chains. That it was necessary for them to Address the Queen to bring the King back to *Paris*; and forasmuch as the Author of all these Mischiefs was well known, he mov'd farther, that the Duke of *Orleans*, and the Officers of the Crown, should be desir'd to come to Parliament, to deliberate upon the Arret issued out 1617, upon account of Mareschal d' *Ancre*, forbidding Foreigners to intermeddle in the Government. We thought our selves, that we had touch'd too high a Key; but a lower Note had not awaken'd or kept awake Men, whom fear had perfectly stupified. I have observed, that this Passion of Fear, has seldom that influence upon particular Persons, as it generally has upon Companies.

Viole's Proposition at first startled, then rejoic'd, and afterwards animated those that heard it. *Blancmesnil*, who before seem'd to have no Life left in him, had now the Courage to point at the Cardinal by Name, who hitherto had been describ'd only by the Name of Minister. And the Parliament cheerfully agreed to remonstrate to the Queen, according to *Viole's* Proposition, not forgetting to pray her Majesty to remove the Troops farther from *Paris*, nor to send for the Magistrates to take Orders for the Security of the City.

The President *Coigneux* whisper'd me, saying, *I have no hopes but in you, we shall be undone, if you don't work under Ground.* I sat up accordingly all Night, to prepare Instructions for St. *Ibal*, to treat with the Count de *Fuensaldagne*, and oblige him to march with the Spanish Army, in case of need, to our Assistance; and was just going to send him away to *Brussels*, when M. de *Chatillon*, my Friend and Kinsman, who mortally hated the Cardinal, came to tell me, that the Prince of *Conde* would be the next Day at *Ruel*; that the Prince was enraged against the Cardinal, and was sure he would ruine the State if he was let alone; and that the Cardinal held a Correspondence in Cyphers with a Fellow in the Prince's Army, whom he had corrupted, to be inform'd of every thing done there to his Prejudice. By all this, I learnt that the Prince had no very great Understanding with

with the Court, and upon his arrival at *Ruel*, I ventur'd to go thither.

Both the Queen and the Cardinal were extremely civil, and the latter took particular Notice of the Prince's Behaviour to me, who embrac'd me *en passant*, in the Garden, and spoke very low to me, that he would be at my House next Day. He kept his Word, and desir'd me to give him an Account of the State of Affairs, which when I had done, we agreed that I should continue to push the Cardinal by the Parliament; that I should carry his Highness, by Night *Incog.* to *Longuevil* and *Broussel*, to assure them that they should not want Assistance; and that the Prince of *Conde* should give the Queen all the Marks of his Respect for, and Attachment to her, and make all possible Reparation for the Dissatisfaction he had shew'd with regard to the Cardinal, that he might thereby insinuate himself into the Queen's Favour, and insensibly dispose her to receive and follow his Counsels, and to hear Truths, against which she had always stopt her Ears; and that by thus letting the Cardinal drop insensibly, rather than fall suddenly, he would find himself Master of the Cabinet by the Queen's Approbation, and Arbiter of the Publick, by the State of Affairs, and the Assistance of his humble Servants in Council.

The Queen, who went away from *Paris*, to give her Troops an Opportunity to attack and starve the City, told the Deputies who came from Parliament to intreat her to restore the King to *Paris*, that she was extremely surpris'd and astonish'd; that the King used every Year, at that Season, to take the Air, and that his Health was much more to be regarded, than the imaginary Fears of the People. The Prince of *Conde* coming in at this Juncture, told the President and Counsellors, who invited him to come and take his Place in Parliament, that he would not come, but obey the Queen, tho' it should prove his Ruine. The Duke of *Orleans* said, that he would not be there neither; because the Parliament had given in such Proposals as were too bold to be suffer'd; and the Prince of *Conti* spoke after the same Way.

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The next Day, the King's Council carry'd an Arret of Council to Parliament, to put a stop to their Debates against Foreigners being in the Ministry. This made the Parliament so warm, that they order'd a Remonstrance in Writing; and sent to the Provost *des Merchands*, to provide for the Safety of the City, and to all other Governors, to keep the Passages free, and resolv'd next Day to go upon the Proposition against Foreign Ministers. I labour'd all Night to ward off the fatal Blow, which I was afraid would hurry the Prince, against his Will, into the Interest of the Court. But when next Day came, the Members inflamed one another before they sat, thro' the curst Spirit of Formality; and the very Men, who two Days ago, were all fear and trembling, were suddenly transported, they knew not why, from a well-grounded Fear, to a blind Rage; so that without reflecting that the General was arriv'd, whose very Name made them Shiver, because they suspected him to be in the Interest of the Court, they issued out the said Arret, which oblig'd the Queen to send the Duke of * *Anjou*, but just recover'd of the *Small Pox*, and the Dutchess of *Orleans*, much indisposed, out of Town; which had begun a Civil War next Day, had not the Prince of *Conde* taken the wisest Measures imaginable, tho' he had a very ill Opinion of the Cardinal, both upon the Publick Account, and his own; and was as little pleas'd with that of the Parliament, with whom there was no dealing, either as a Body, or as private Persons. The Prince kept an even Pace between the Court and Country Factions; and he said these Words to me, which I can never forget, *Mazarin doth not know what he is a doing, and will ruine the State, if Care be not taken; the Parliament really goes on too fast, as you said they would; if they did but manage according to our Scheme, we should be able to settle our own Business, and that of the Publick too; they*

* Philip of France, only Brother to King Lewis XIV.. afterwards Duke of Orleans, died suddenly at St. Clou, in 1701.

with Precipitation, and were I to do so, 'tis probable I should gain more by it than they. But I am LEWIS of BOURBON, and will not shake the Throne. Are those Devils in foursquare Caps Mad, to force me either to begin a Civil War to Morrow, or to ruine every Man of them, and set over our Heads a Sicilian Vagabond, who will destroy us all at last? In fine, the Prince propos'd to set out immediately for Ruel, to divert the Court from their Project of Attacking Paris, and to propose to the Queen, that the Duke of Orleans and himself, should write to the Parliament, to send Deputies to confer about Means to remedy the Necessities of the State. The Prince say'd that I was so transported at this Proposal, that he said to me with Tenderneſs, *How different are you from the Man you are represented to be at Court! Would to God that all those Rogues in the Ministry were but as well inclined as you.*

I told the Prince, that considering how the Minds of the Parliament were sower'd, I doubted whether they would care to confer with the Cardinal; that his Highness would gain a considerable Point, if he could prevail with the Court not to insist upon the Necessity of the Cardinal's Presence; because then all the Honour of the Accommodation, in which the Duke of Orleans, as usual, would only stand for a Cypher, would redound to him; and that such Exclusion of the Cardinal, would disgrace his Ministry to the last Degree, and be a very proper Preface to the Blow which the Prince design'd to give him in the Cabinet.

The Prince improv'd the Hint, so that the Parliament return'd Answer, that they would send Deputies to confer with the Princes only; which last Words, the Prince artfully laid hold of, and advis'd *Mazarin* not to expose himself by coming to the Conference against the Parliament's Consent; but rather, like a wise Man, to make a Virtue of the present Necessity. This was a cruel Blow to the Cardinal, who, ever since the Decease of the late King, had been own'd as Prime Minister of France, and was attended with Consequences equally disgraceful.

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The Deputies being accordingly admitted to a Conference with the Duke of Orleans, the Princes of Condé and Conti, and M. de Longueville, the first President *Viole*, who had moved in Parliament that the Arrest might be renew'd for excluding Foreigners out of the Ministry, complain'd against the Imprisonment of M. de *Chavigny*, who, tho' no Member, yet he insisted upon his being set at Liberty; because, according to the Laws of the Realm, no Person ought to be detain'd in Custody above Twenty four Hours without Examination. This occasion'd a considerable Debate; and the Duke of Orleans, provok'd at this Expression, said, that the President's Aim was, to cramp the Royal Authority. Nevertheless, the latter vigorously maintain'd his Argument, and was unanimously seconded by all the Deputies, for which they were next Day applauded in Parliament. In short, the Thing was push'd so far, that the Queen was oblig'd to consent to a Declaration, that for the future no Man whatsoever shou'd be detain'd in Prison above three Days, without being examin'd; and by this Means, *Chavigny* was set at Liberty. Several other Conferences were held, in which the Chancellor treated the first President of the Parliament with a sort of Contempt that was almost brutish; nevertheless the Parliament carry'd all before 'em.

In *October* 1648, the Parliament adjourned, and the Queen soon after return'd to *Paris* with the King.

The Cardinal, who aim'd at nothing more than to ruin my Credit with the People, sent me 4000 Crowns as a Present from the Queen, for the Services which she said I intended her on the Day of the Barricade, and who, think you, should be the Messenger to bring it, but my Friend the Mareschal de *Meilleraye*, the Man who before warn'd me of the sinister Intentions of the Court, and now was so credulous, as to believe that I was their Favourite, because the Cardinal was pleas'd to say how much he was concern'd for the Injustice he had done me; which I only mention, to remark, that *Those People over whom the Court has once got an Ascendant, can't help believing whatever they would have them; and*

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the Ministers are only to blame if they do not Bubble them. But I would not be persuaded by the Marefchal, as he had been by the Cardinal, and therefore I refus'd the said Sum very civilly, and I am fure, with as much Sincerity as the Court offer'd it.

But the Cardinal laid another Trap for me that I was not aware of, *viz.* by tempting me with the Proffer of the Government of *Paris*, which when I had shewed a Willingness to accept, he found means to break off the Treaty I was making for that Purpose with the Prince *de Guimene*, who had the Reversion of it, and then represented me to the People as one, who only sought my own Interest. Instead of improving this Blunder, which I might have done, to my own Advantage, I added another to it, and said all that Rage cou'd prompt me against the Cardinal, to one who told it him again.

To return now to Public Affairs. The People were so hot about the Festival of *St. Martin*, that they seem'd as if they had been all intoxicated with gathering in the Vintage, and you are now going to be entertain'd with Scenes, in Comparifon of which, the past are but Bawbles.

There is no Affair but has its Critical Minute, which it is the Master-piece of good Conduct to know, and lay hold of, and which if you miss, especially in the Revolution of Kingdoms, you run a great Risque, either not to meet with it again, or not to prevent it.

Every one now found their Advantage in the Declaration, if they understood their own Interest. The Parliament had the Honour of Re-establishing public Order. The Princes too had their share in this Honour, and the First Fruits of it, which were Respect and Security. The People had a considerable Comfort in it, by being eas'd of a Load of above 60 Millions; and if the Cardinal had had but the Sense to make a Virtue of Necessity, which is one of the most necessary Qualifications of a Minister of State, he might by an Advantage always inseparable from Favourites, have appropriated to himself the greatest Part of the Merit, even of those things he had most opposed.

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But these Advantages were all lost upon the most trivial Considerations. The People, upon the Discontinuation of the Parliamentary Assemblies, resumed their savage Temper, and were scar'd by the Approach of a few Troops, at which it was ridiculous to take the least Umbrage. The Parliament was too apt to give Ear to every groundless Tale of the Non-execution of their Declaration. The Duke of *Orleans* saw all the Good he was capable of doing, and part of the Evil he had Power to prevent, but neither the one nor the other being strong enough to move his fearful Temper, he was insensible of the fatal Blow. The Prince of *Conde*, who saw the Evil in its full Extent, was too Couragious, by Nature, to fear the Consequences; he was inclin'd to do Good, but would do it only in his own Way. His Age, his Humour, and Victories, hindred him from associating Patience with Activity, nor was he timely acquainted with this Maxim, so necessary for Princes, *viz. Always to sacrifice little Incidents, to Affairs of the last Importance.* And the Cardinal being ignorant of our Ways, daily confounded the most Weighty with the most Trifling Affairs.

The Parliament, who met on the 2d of *January* 1649, resolv'd to enforce the Execution of the Declaration, which, they pretended, had been infringed in all its Articles: And the Queen was resolved to retire from *Paris* with the King, and the whole Court. The Queen was guided by the Cardinal, and the Duke of *Orleans* by *la Riviere*, the most sordid and self-interested Man of the Age in which he liv'd. As for the Prince of *Conde*, he began to be disgusted with the unseasonable Proceedings of the Parliament, almost as soon as he had concerted Measures with *Broussel* and *Longuevil*; which Distaste, joined to the Caresses of the Queen, the apparent Submission of the Cardinal, and an Hereditary Inclination receiv'd from his Parents, to keep fair with the Court, cramp'd the Resolutions of his great Soul. I bewail'd this Change of his Behaviour, both upon my own and the Public Account, but much more
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for his Sake. I lov'd him as much as I honour'd him, and clearly saw the Precipice.

I had divers Conferences with him, in which I found that his Disgust was turned into Wrath and Indignation. He swore there was no bearing with the Insolence and Impertinence of those Burghers, who struck at the Royal Authority; that as long as he thought they aim'd only at *Mazarin*, he was on their Side; that I my self had often confess'd, that no certain Measures could be concerted with Men, who chang'd their Opinions every Quarter of an Hour; that he could never condescend to be General of an Army of Fools, with whom no wise Man would engage; besides, that he was a Prince of the Blood, and would not be instrumental in shocking the State; and that the Parliament might thank themselves if they were ruin'd, for not observing the Measures agreed on.

This was the Substance of my Answer. *No Men are more bound by Interest than the Parliament, to maintain the Regal Authority; so that they cannot be thought to have a Design to ruin the State, tho' their Proceedings may have a Tendency that Way: It must be own'd, therefore, that if the Sovereign Companies do Evil, 'tis only when they are not able to act so well as they would. A skilful Minister, who knows how to manage Companies, as well as particular Men, keeps up such a due Ballance between the Prince's Authority and the Peoples Obedience, as makes all things succeed and prosper. But the present Prime Minister has neither Judgment nor Strength to adjust the Pendulum of this State Clock, the Springs of which are out of Order. His Business was to make it go slower, which, I own, he goes about, but 'tis very awkwardly, because he has not a Head turn'd for it. In this lies the Fault of our Machine; your Highness is in the right, to set about the Mending of it, because no Body else is capable of doing it; but in order to do this, must you join with those that would knock it in Pieces? You are convinced of the Cardinal's Extravagancies, and that his only View is, to establish in France a Form of Government known no where but in Italy. If he should succeed, will the State be a*

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Gain,

Gainer by it according to its only true Maxims? Would it be an Advantage to the Princes of the Blood in any Sense? But besides, is he in any likelihood of succeeding? Is he not loaded with the Odium and Contempt of the Public? And is not the Parliament the Idol they Revere? I know you despise them, because the Court is so well arm'd; but let me tell you, they are so confident of their Power, that they are very considerable. They are come to that pass, that they don't value your Forces; and tho' the Mischief is, that at present their Strength consists only in their Imagination, yet a Time may come, when they may be able to do whatever they now think it in their Power. Your Highness lately told me, that this Disposition of the People was only Smoak; but be assured, that Smoak so dark and thick, proceeds from a brisk Fire, which the Parliament blows, and tho' they mean well, may blaze up in such a Flame, as may consume themselves, and again hazard the Destruction of the State, which has been the Case more than once. Bodies of Men, when once exasperated by a Ministry, always aggravate their Failures, and scarce ever shew them any Favour, which, in some Cases is enough to ruin a Kingdom.

If when the Proposition was formerly made to the Parliament by the Cardinal, to declare whether they intended to set Bounds to the Royal Authority; if, I say, they had not wisely eluded the ridiculous and dangerous Question, France had run a great Risque, in my Opinion, of being entirely ruin'd; for had they answered in the Affirmative, as they were on the Point of doing, they would have rent the Veil that covers the Mysteries of State. Every Monarchy has its peculiar Veil; that of France consists in a Kind of religious and sacred Silence, which, by the Subjects generally paying a blind Obedience to their Kings, muffles up that Right which they think they have, to dispense with their Obedience, in Cases where a Complaisance to their Kings would be a Prejudice to themselves. It was a Wonder that the Parliament did not strip off this Veil by a formal Arret, which had been of much worse Consequences, than the Liberty the People

People have since taken to look through it. Your Highness cannot, by the Force of Arms, prevent these dangerous Consequences, which, perhaps, are already too near at Hand. You see that even the Parliament can hardly restrain the People whom they have rous'd; that the Contagion is spread into the Provinces; and you know that Guienne and Provence, are perfectly govern'd by the Example of Paris. Every thing shakes and totters; and it is your Highness only that can set us to Rights, because of the Splendour of your Birth and Reputation, and the generally receiv'd Opinion, that none but you can do it.

The Queen shares with the Cardinal in the common Hatred, and the Duke of Orleans with la Riviere, in the universal Contempt of the People. If out of meer Complaisance, you go into their Measures, you'll share in the Hatred of the Public. 'Tis true, you are above their Contempt, but then so great will be their Dread of you, that it will so grievously poison the Hatred they will then bear to you, and the Contempt they have already for the others, that what is at present only a dangerous Wound in the State, will perhaps become incurable and Mortal. I am sensible you have Grounds to be diffident of the Behaviour of a Body consisting of above two Hundred Persons, who are neither capable of Governing, nor being Governed. I own the Thought is perplexing, but such favourable Circumstances seem to offer at this Juncture, as I dare say will make all Matters easy. Put the Case that Manifesto's were publish'd, and your Highness declar'd General of the Parliament Army, would you, Sir, meet with greater Difficulties than your Grandfather and Great Grandfather did in Accommodating themselves to the Caprice of the Ministers of Rochel, and the Mayors of Nismes and Montauban? And would your Highness find it a greater Task to manage the Parliament of Paris, than M. de Mayenne did, in the time of the League, when there was a Faction the most opposite that could be to all the Maxims of the then Parliament? Your Birth and Merit raise you as far above M. de Mayenne, as the Cause in Hand is above that of the League. And the Circumstances of both are no less different. The Head of

the League declared War, by an open and publick Alliance with Spain, against the Crown, and against one of the best and bravest Kings that France ever had. And this Head of the League, tho' descended from a foreign and suspected Family, did, notwithstanding, keep that same Parliament in his Interest, for a considerable Time.

You have opened your self but to two Members of the whole Parliament, and to them only upon their Promise to discover your Intentions to no Man living. How then can your Highness think it possible that your Intentions, lock'd up so closely in the Breasts of two Members, can have any Influence upon the whole Body of the Parliament? I dare answer for it, Sir, that if you will but declare your self openly the Protector of the Public, and of the Sovereign Companies, you might govern them, at least for a considerable Time, with an absolute, and almost Sovereign Authority. But this, it seems, is not what you have in View, you are not willing to embroil your self with the Court; you had rather be of the Cabinet, than of a Party. Do not take it ill then, that Men, who only consider you in this Light, don't conduct themselves as you would have them. You ought to conform your Measures to theirs, because theirs are Public; and you may safely do it, because the Cardinal can hardly stand under the heavy Weight of the Public hatred, and is too weak to oblige you against your Will, to any sudden precipitate Rupture. La Riviere, who governs the Duke of Orleans, is the most fearful Creature in the World. Continue then to shew your Endeavours to qualifie Affairs, and let them take their Course according to your first Plan. Is a little more or less Heat in Parliamentary Proceedings, Reason sufficient to make you alter it? For whatever be the Consequence, the worst that can happen is, that the Queen may believe you not zealous enough for her Interest; but are there not Salvos enough for that? Are there not Excuses and Appearances ready at Hand, and such as cannot fail?

In fine, Sir, I pray your Highness to give me Leave to add, that there never was so excellent, so innocent, so sacred, and so necessary a Project as this form'd by your Highness, and in my humble Opinion, there never
were

were such weak Reasons as those you have now urg'd, to hinder its Execution: for I take this to be the Weakest of all, which, perhaps you think a very strong one, viz. That if Mazarin miscarries in his Designs, you may be ruin'd along with him; and if he does succeed, he will destroy you by the very Means which you took to raise him.

It had not the intended Effect upon the Prince, who was already pre-possess'd, and only answer'd me in general Terms. But Heroes have their Faults as well as other Men; and so had his Highness, who had one of the finest Genius's in the World, but little or no Forethought. He did not seek to aggravate Matters, in order to render himself necessary at Court, or with a View to do what he afterwards did for the Cardinal; nor was he byass'd by the mean Interests of Pension, Government, and Establishment. He had most certainly great Hopes of being Arbiter of the Cabinet. The Glory of being Restorer of the Publick Peace, was his first End in View, and the being Conservator of the Royal Authority, the second. *Those who labour under such an Imperfection, tho' they see clearly the Advantages and Disadvantages of both Parties, know not which to choose, because they do not weigh them in the same Balance; so that the same Thing appears lightest to Day, which they think heaviest to Morrow.* This was the Case of the Prince, who, it must be own'd, if he had carried on his good Design with Prudence, had certainly re-established the Government upon a lasting Foundation.

He told me more than once, in an angry Mood, that if the Parliament went on at the old rate, he would make them know, that it would be no great Task to reduce them to reason. I perceiv'd by his Talk, that the Court had reassumed the Design of besieging *Paris*; and to be the more satisfied of it, I told him, that the Cardinal might easily be disappointed in his Measures, and that he would find *Paris* to be a very tough Bit. It shall not be taken, says he, like *Dunkirk*, by Mines and Storming, but suppose its Bread from *Gonesse* should be

cut off for eight Days only? I took it then for granted, and reply'd: That the Stopping of that Passage would be attended with Difficulties: What Difficulties, said the Prince, very briskly? *The Citizens; Will they come out to give Battle?* If it were only Citizens, said I, Sir, the Battle would not be very sharp. Who will be with them? said he, will you be there your self? That would be a very bad Omen, said I, it would look too much like the Proceedings of the League. After a little Pause, he said, But now to be serious, Would you be such a Fool as to embark with those Men? You know, Sir, said I, that I am engaged already, and that moreover as Coadjutor of Paris, I am concern'd both by Honour and Interest in its Preservation. I shall be your Highness's humble Servant as long as I live, except in this one Point. I saw he was touch'd to the Quick, but he kept his Temper and said these very Words, *When you engage in a bad Cause, I will pity you, but shall have no Reason to complain of you. Nor do you complain of me, but do me that Justice you owe me, viz. to own that all I promis'd to Longueville and Broussel, is since vacated by the Conduct of the Parliament.* He afterwards shew'd me many Personal Favours, and offered to make my Peace with the Court. I assur'd him of my Obedience and Zeal for his Service in every thing that did not interfere with the Engagements I was enter'd into, with which (as he himself own'd) I could not possibly dispense.

After we parted, I paid a Visit to Madame de Longueville, who seem'd enraged both against the Court, and the Prince of Conde. I was pleas'd to think moreover, that she could do what she would with the Prince of Conti, who was little better than a Child; but then I considered that this Child was a Prince of the Blood, and it was only a Name we wanted, to give Life to that, which, without one, was a meer Embryo. I could answer for Monsieur de Longueville, who lov'd to be the first Man in any publick Revolution; and I was as well assured of Marechal de la * Mothe, who was en-

* Philip de la Mothe Houdancourt, deceased 1657.

rag'd against the Court, and had been inviolably attach'd to M. de Longueville for Twenty Years together. I saw that the Duke of *Bouillon*, through the Injustice done him by the Court, and the ill State of his Domestick Affairs, was very much disgusted, and almost desperate. I had an Eye upon all those Gentlemen at a Distance, but thought neither of them fit to open the Scene; Monsieur de Longueville was good only for the second Act; the Marechal de la Mothe was a good Soldier, but had no Head-Piece, and was therefore not qualified for the first Act; M. de Bouillon was my Man, had not his Honesty been more Problematick than his Talents. You'll not wonder that I was so fickle in my Choice, and that I fix'd at last upon the Prince of *Conti*, of the Blood of *France*.

As soon as I gave Madame de Longueville a Hint of what Part she was to act in the intended Revolution, she was perfectly transported, and I took Care to make M. de Longueville as great a Malecontent as her self. She had Wit and Beauty, tho' the Small-Pox had taken away the Bloom of her pretty Face, in which there sate Charms so powerful, as render'd her one of the most amiable Persons in *France*. I could have placed her in my Heart between Madames de Guimene and Pomereux, and it was not the Despair of succeeding, that pall'd my Passion; but the Consideration that the Benefice was not yet Vacant, tho' not well serv'd; Monsieur de la Rochefoucaut was in Possession, yet absent in *Poitou*. I sent her three or four *Billetdoux* every Day, and receiv'd as many. I went very often to her Levee, to be more at liberty to talk of Affairs; got extraordinary Advantages by it, and I knew 'twas the only Way to be sure of the Prince of *Conti*.

Having settled a punctual Correspondence with Madame de Longueville, she brought me better acquainted with M. de la Rochefoucaut, who made the Prince of *Conti* believe, that he spoke a good Word for him to the Lady, his Sister, with whom he was in Love. And they two so blinded the Prince, that he did not suspect any thing till four Years after.

When I saw the Court would be their own Carvers, I resolv'd to declare War against them, and attack *Mazarin* in Person, because otherwise we could not escape being first attack'd by him.

'Tis certain, that he gave his Enemies such an Advantage over him, as no other Prime Minister ever did. *Their Power commonly keeps them above Ridicule*; but every Body ridiculed the Cardinal, because of the silly Stories, which those in his Post are seldom guilty of. He had lately ask'd *Bougeval*, Deputy of the Grand Council, *Whether he did not think himself obliged to have no Buttons to the Collar of his Doublet, if the King should command it*; a grave Argument to convince the Deputies of a Sovereign Company, of the Obedience due to Kings; for which he was severely Lampoon'd both in Prose and Verse.

The Court having attempted to authorise excessive Usury by a Law, I mean with respect to the Affair of Loans, my Dignity would not permit me to tolerate so public and scandalous an Evil. Therefore I held an Assembly of the Clergy, where, without so much as mentioning the Cardinal's Name in all the Conferences, in which I rather affect'd to spare him, yet in a Week's time, I made him pass for one of the most obstinate *Jerws* in Europe.

At this very Time I was sent for, by a civil Letter under the Queen's own Hand, to repair to *St. Germain's*. The Messenger telling me, the King was just gone thither, and that the Army was commanded to advance, I made him believe I would obey the Summons, but I did not intend it.

I was pester'd for five Hours, with a Parcel of idle Rumours of Ruin and Destruction, which rather diverted, than alarmed me; for tho' the Prince of *Conde*, mistrusting his Brother the Prince of *Conti*, had surpriz'd him in Bed, and carry'd him off with him to *St. Germain's*, yet I did not question but as long as *Madame de Longueville* stay'd in *Paris*, we should see him again; the rather, because his Brother had neither that Fear or Value for him as to put him under an Arrest, and I was assured

assured that M. de Longueville would be in *Paris* that Evening, by a Letter from himself.

The King was no sooner gone, but the Parliament met, frightened out of their Senses; and I know not what they could have done, if we had not found a Way to improve their Fears into a Resolution to make a bold Stand. *I have observ'd a Thousand Times, that there are some kind of Fears not to be removed but by higher Degrees of Terror.* I caus'd it to be signified to the Parliament, that there was in the Town-House a Letter from his Majesty, to the Magistrates, containing the Reasons that had oblig'd Him to leave his good City of *Paris*; which were in Effect, That some of the Officers of the House held a Correspondence with the Enemies of the Government and had conspir'd to seize his Person.

The Parliament considering this Letter, and that the President *le Feron*, the Provost *des Merchands*, was a Creature of the Court, order'd the Citizens to Arms, the Gates to be secured, and the Provost *des Merchands*, and the Lieutenant *de Police*, to keep open the necessary Passages for Provisions.

Having thought it good Policy that the first public Step of Resistance should be taken by the Parliament, to justify the Disobedience of private Persons, I then invented this Stratagem, to render me the more excusable to the Queen for not going to *St. Germain*. Having taken leave of all Friends, and rejected all their Intreaties for my stay in *Paris*, I took Coach as if I was driving to Court, but by good Luck, met with an eminent Timber-Merchant, a very good Friend of mine, at the End of *Notre Dame* Street, who was very much out of Humour, set upon my Postilion, and threatned my Coachman; the People came and overturn'd my Coach, and the Women shrieking, carried me back to my own House. I wrote to the Queen and Prince, signifying how sorry I was that I had met with such a stop. But the Queen treated the Messenger with Scorn and Contempt. The Prince, at the same time that he pity'd me, could not help shewing his Anger. *La Riviere* attack'd me with Railleries and Invectives, and the Messenger found

they were sure of putting the Rope about all our Necks on the Morrow. I was not so much alarm'd at their Menaces, as at the News I heard the same Day, that Monsieur *de Longueville*, returning from *Roan*, had turn'd off to *St. Germain*s. Marechal *de la Mothe* told me Twenty times, that he would do every thing, without Exception, that Monsieur *de Longueville* would have him do for or against the Court. Monsieur *Bouillon* quarrell'd with me, for confiding in Men, who acted so contrary to the repeated Assurances I had given him of their good Behaviour. And besides all this, Madame *de Longueville* protested to me, that she had receiv'd no News from Monsieur *de Rouchefoucaut*, who went soon after the King, with a Design to fortify the Prince of *Conti* in his Resolution, and to bring him back to *Paris*. Upon which, I sent the Marquis *de Noirmoutier* to *St. Germain*s, to learn what we had to trust to.

On the 7th of *January* 1649, an Order was sent from the King to the Parliament to remove to *Montargis*, to the Chamber of Accompts to adjourn to *Orleans*, and to the Grand Council, to retire to *Mantes*. A Packet was also sent to the Parliament, which they would not open, because they guess'd at the Contents, and were resolv'd beforehand not to obey. Therefore they return'd it seal'd up as it came, and agreed to send Assurances of their Obedience to the Queen, and to beg she would give them leave to clear themselves from the Aspersions thrown upon them in the Letter (abovementioned) sent to the Chief Magistrate of the City. And to support the Dignity of Parliament, it was further resolv'd, That Her Majesty should be petition'd, in a most humble manner, to name the Calumniators, that they might be proceeded against according to Law.

At the same time *Broussel*, *Viole*, *Amelot*, and seven others, moved that it might be demanded in Form, that Cardinal *Mazarin* should be remov'd; but they were not supported by any Body else, so that they were treated as Enthusiasts. Although this was a Juncture in which it was more necessary than ever to act with Vigour, yet I

don't

don't remember the Time when I saw so much Faint heartedness.

The Chamber of Accompts immediately set about making Remonstrances; but the Grand Council would have obey'd the King's Orders, only the City refused them Pass-ports. I think this was one of the most gloomy Days I had ever yet seen. I found the Parliament had almost lost all their Spirit, and that I should be oblig'd to bow my Neck under the most shameful and most dangerous Yoke of Slavery, or reduc'd to the dire Necessity of setting up for Tribune of the People; which is the most uncertain and meanest of all Posts, when it is not vested with sufficient Power.

The Weakness of the Prince of *Conti*, who was led like a Child by his Brother; the Cowardice of Monsieur de *Longueville*, who had been to offer his Service to the Queen; and the Declaration of Messieurs de *Bouillon* and de la *Mothe*, had mightily disfigured my Tribuneship. But the Folly of *Mazarin* rais'd its Reputation; for he made the Queen refuse Audience to the King's Council, who returned that Night to *Paris*, fully convinced, that the Court was resolv'd to push things to extremity.

I was inform'd from *St. Germain*, that the Prince had assur'd the Queen, he would take *Paris* in a Fortnight; and that they hop'd that the Discontinuance of two Markets only, would starve the City into a Surrender. I carried this News to my Friends, who began to see that there was no possibility of an Accommodation.

The Parliament was no sooner acquainted that the King's Council had been deny'd Audience, but with one Voice (*Bernai* excepted, who was fitter for a Cook than a Councillor) they pass'd that famous Arret of *January* 8. 1649. whereby Cardinal *Mazarin* was declar'd an Enemy to the King and Government, a Disturber of the Public Peace, and all the King's Subjects were enjoyn'd to fall upon him without Mercy.

In the Afternoon, there was a general Council of the Deputies of Parliament, of the Chamber of Accompts, of the Court of Aids, the chief Magistrates of *Paris*, and the six Trading Companies, wherein it was resolv'd
that

that the Magistrates should issue out Commissions for raising 4000 Horse, and 10,000 Foot. The same Day, the Chamber of Accompts, the Court of Aids, and the City, sent their Deputies to the Queen, to beseech Her Majesty to bring the King back to *Paris*; but the Court was very stiff. The Prince of *Conde* flew out against the Parliament, in the Queen's Presence; and her Majesty told 'em all, that neither the King, nor her self, would ever come again within the Walls of the City, till the Parliament was gone out of it.

The next Day, the City receiv'd a Letter from the King, commanding them to oblige the Parliament to remove to *Montargis*. The Governour, one of the Sheriffs, and four Counsellors of the City, carried the Letter to Parliament, protesting at the same time, that they would obey no other Orders than those of the Parliament, who, that very Morning, settled the necessary Funds for raising Troops. In the Afternoon, there was a general Council, wherein all the Corporations of the City, and all the Colonels and Captains of the several Quarters, enter'd into an Association, confirm'd by an Oath, for their mutual Defence. Mean time, I was inform'd by the Marquis *de Noirmoutier*, that the Prince of *Conti*, and Monsieur *de Longueville*, were very well disposed, and that they stay'd at Court the longer, to have the safer Opportunity of coming away. Monsieur *de Rochefoucault* writ to the same Purpose to Madame *de Longueville*.

The same Day, I had a sudden Visit from M. * *d'Elbeuf*, who, as they said, having missed of a Dinner at Court, came to *Paris* for a Supper. He address'd me with all the cajoling Flattery of the House of *Guise*, and had three Children with him, who were not so Eloquent, but seem'd to be as good Whistlers as himself. He told me, that he was going to offer his Service to the Town-House; but I advis'd him to wait upon the Parliament. He was fix'd in his first Resolution; yet he came to assure me, he would follow my Advice in every thing. I was afraid that the *Parisians*, to whom the very Name of a

* Charles of Lorraine, the second of that Name, who did 1657.
Prince

Prince of *Lorraine* is dear, would have given him the Command of the Troops. Therefore I order'd the Clergy, over whom I had any Influence, to insinuate to the People, that he was too great with the Abbot *de la Riviere*; and I shew'd the Parliament what Respect he had for them, by addressing himself to the Town-house in the first Place, and that he had not Honour enough to be trusted. I was shew'd a Letter which he wrote to his Friend, as he came into Town, in which he had these Words: *I must go and do Homage to the Coadjutor now, but in three Days time he shall return it to me.* And I knew from other Instances that he did not love me.

While I was musing what to do, News was brought to me before Day, that the Prince of *Conti*, and Monsieur *de Longueville*, were at the Gate of *St. Honore*, and denied Entrance by the People, who fear'd they came to betray the City. I immediately fetch'd honest *Broussel*, and taking some Flambeaus to light us, we posted to the said Gate through a prodigious Crowd of People, and it was broad Day before we could persuade the People that they might safely let them in.

The great Difficulty now was, how to manage, so as to take off the general Distrust that there was of the Prince of *Conti* among the People. That which was practicable the Night before, was render'd impossible, and even ruinous, the next Day; and this same Duke of *Elbeuf*, whom I thought to have driven out of *Paris* on the 9th, was in a fair Way to have drove me out on the 10th, if he had play'd his Game well; so suspected was the Name of *Comde* by the People. As there wanted a little time to reconcile them, I thought it was our only way to keep fair with Monsieur *d' Elbeuf*, and to convince him, that it would be his Interest to join with the Prince of *Conti*, and Monsieur *de Longueville*. I accordingly sent to acquaint him, that I intended him a Visit; but when I came, he was gone to the Parliament-House, where the first President, who was against removing to *Montargis*, and at the same time, very averse to a civil War, embrac'd him, and without giving
the

the Members time to consider what was urg'd by *Broussel, Viole*, and others to the contrary, caus'd him to be declar'd General, with a Design meerly to divide and weaken the Party.

Upon this, I made haste to the Palace of *Longueville*, to persuade the Prince of *Conti* and Monsieur de *Longueville*, to go that very instant to the Parliament-house; the latter was never in haste; and the Prince being gone tir'd to Bed, 'twas with much ado I prevail'd on him to rise. In short, he was so long a setting out, that the Parliament was up, and Monsieur d' *Elbeuf* was marching to the Town-house to be sworn, and to take care of the Commissions, that were there to be deliver'd out. I thereupon persuaded the Prince of *Conti* to go to the Parliament-House in the Afternoon, and to offer them his Service, while I stay'd without in the Hall to observe the Disposition of the People.

He went thither accordingly in my Coach, and with my grand Livery, by which he made it appear, that he repos'd his Confidence intirely in the People; *Whom there is a Necessity of managing with a World of Precaution, because of their natural Diffidence and Instability.* When we came to the House, we were saluted upon the Stairs with, *God blefs the Coadjutor*; but except those posted there on purpose, not a Soul cried, *God blefs the Prince of Conti*; from whence I concluded, that the Bulk of the People were not yet cured of their Diffidence, and therefore I was very glad when I had got the Prince into the Grand-Chamber. The Moment after came in Monsieur d' *Elbeuf* with the City Guards, who attended him as General, and with all the People, crying out, *God blefs his Highness Monsieur d' Elbeuf*; but as they cried at the same time, *God save the Coadjutor*, I address'd my self to him with a Smile, and said: *This is an Eccho, Sir, which does me a great deal of Honour.* You are mighty Civil, said he, and turning to the Guards, bad them stay at the Door of the great Chamber. I took the Order as given to my self, and staid there likewise with a great Number of my Friends. As soon as the House was set, the Prince of *Conti* stood up, and said,

“ That

“ That having been at St. Germain, and acquainted
“ with the pernicious Counsels given to the Queen, he
“ thought himself oblig’d, as Prince of the Blood, to
“ oppose them. Monsieur d’ Elbeuf, who was proud
and Insolent, like all weak Men, because he thought
he had the strongest Party, said, *He knew the Respect
due to the Prince of Conti, but that he could not forbear
telling them, that it was himself who first broke the Ice
and offer’d his Service to the Parliament, who having con-
ferr’d the General’s Battoon upon him, he would never part
with it but with his Life.*

The generality of the Members, who were as distrust-
ful of the Prince of Conti as the People applauded this
Declaration, and the Parliament pass’d an Arret, forbid-
ding the Troops, on pain of High-Treason, to advance
within Twenty Miles of *Paris*. I saw all that I could
do that Day, was to reconduct the Prince of Conti in
safety, to the Palace of *Longueville*, for the Crowd was
so great, that I was fain to carry him as it were in my
Arms out of the Grand Chamber.

Monsieur d’ Elbeuf, who thought the Day was all
his own, hearing my Name join’d with his, in the
Huzza’s of the People, said to me, by way of Reprisa-
l, *This, Sir, is an Echo which does me a great deal
of Honour*; to which I reply’d, as he did to me before,
Sir, you are wondrous Civil. Mean time, he was not
wise enough to improve the Opportunity, and I fore-
saw that Things would soon take another Turn. For,
*Reputation among the People, which has been of long
standing, never fails to blast the tender Blossoms of pub-
lick Benevolence, which are forc’d out by mere Chance.*

I had Advice sent me from Madame de Lesdiguires,
at St. Germain, that Monsieur d’ Elbeuf, an Hour after
he heard of the Arrival of the Prince of Conti, and
Monsieur de Longueville, at *Paris*, writ a Letter to the
Abbot la Riviere, with these Words: “ Tell the
“ Queen, and the Duke of Orleans, that *this Devilish*
“ Coadjutor is the Ruin of every thing here, and that
“ in two Days I shall have no Power at all; but that
“ if they will be kind to me, I will make them sen-
“ sible

“ fible, I am not come hither with fo bad a Defign as they imagine.” I made a very good Ufe of this Advice, and knowing that the People are generally fond of every thing that feems Myfterious, I imparted the Secret to four or five hundred Perfons. I had the Pleasure to hear, that the Confidence which the Prince had reposed in the People, by going about all alone in my Coach, without any Attendance, had won their Hearts.

At Midnight, Monsieur de Longueville, Marefchal de la Mothe, and my felf, went to Monsieur de Bouillon, whom we found as fickle as the then State of Affairs; but when we fhew’d him our Plan, and how eafily it might be executed, he join’d us immediately. We concerted Meafures, and I gave out Orders to all the Colonels and Captains of my Acquaintance.

The moft dangerous Blow that I gave to Monsieur d’Elbeuf was, by making the People believe, that he held Correſpondence with the King’s Troops, who, on the 9th at Night, surpriz’d Charenton; I met him on the firft Report of it, when he ſaid, *Would you think there are People ſo wicked as to ſay, that I had a Hand in the Surprizal of Charenton!* I ſaid in Answer; *Would you think there are People wile enough to report, that the Prince of Conti, is come hither by Concert with the Prince of Conde?*

When I ſaw the People pretty well cured of their Diffidence, and not ſo zealous as they were for Monsieur d’Elbeuf, was for mincing the Matter no longer, and thought that Oſtentation would be as proper to Day, as reſervedneſs was Yeſterday. The Prince of Conti carry’d M. de Longueville to the Parliament-houſe, where he offer’d them his Services, together with all Normandy, and deſired they would accept of his Wife, Son, and Daughter, and keep them in the Town-Houſe as Pledges of his Sincerity. He was ſeconded by M. de Bouillon, who ſaid, he was exceeding glad to ſerve the Parliament under the Command of ſo great a Prince as the Prince of Conti. Monsieur d’Elbeuf was nettled at this Expreſſion, and repeated what he ſaid before, that he would not part with

with the General's Staff; and he shew'd more Warmth than Judgment in the whole Debate. He spoke nothing to the purpose; it was too late to dispute, and he was oblig'd to yield; but I have observ'd that *Fools never yield but when they can't help it.* We try'd his Impatience a third Time, by the Appearance of Marechal *de la Mothe*, who pass'd the same Compliment upon the Company as *Bouillon* had done. We had concerted before, that these Personages should make their Appearance upon the Theatre successively one after another; for we had remark'd, that *nothing so much affects the People, and even the Parliament of whom the People are a Majority, as a Variety of Scenes.*

I carried Madame *de Longueville* and Madame *de Bouillon* in a Coach, by way of Triumph, to the Town-House. They were both shining Beauties, and appear'd the more Charming, because of a careless Air, the more becoming to both, because it was unaffected. Each held one of their Children in her Arms, beautiful as the Mother. The Place was so full of People, that the very Tops of the Houses were cover'd, all the Men shouted, and the Women wept for Joy and Affection. I threw five Hundred Pistoles out of the Window of the Town-House; and went again to the Parliament-House, accompanied by an infinite Number of People, some with Arms, and others without. Monsieur *d'Elbeuf's* Captain of the Guards told his Master, that he was ruin'd to all Intents and Purposes, if he did not accommodate his Affairs; which was the Reason that I found him much perplex'd and dejected, especially when Monsieur *de Believre*, who had amus'd him hitherto designedly, came in and ask'd, *What meant the Beating of the Drums?* I answer'd, *That he would hear more very soon, and that all honest Men were quite out of Patience with Men that sow'd Divisions among the People.* I saw then, that *Wit, in Affairs of Moment, is nothing without Courage.* Monsieur *d'Elbeuf* had little Courage at this Juncture, made a ridiculous Explanation of what he had said before, granted more than he was desired, and it was owing to the Civility
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and good Sense of Monsieur de Bouillon, that he retain'd the Title of General, and the Precedency with Messieurs de Bouillon, and de la Mothe, who were equally Generals with himself, under the Prince of Conti, who was from that Instant declar'd Generalissimo of the King's Forces, under the Direction of the Parliament.

There happen'd, at this Time, a comical Scene in the Town-House, which I the rather mention, because of its Consequence. Noirmoutier, who, the Night before, was made Lieutenant-General, returning by the Town-House from a Sally which he had made into the Suburbs, to drive away Mazarin's Skirmishes, (as they were called) enter'd with three Officers in Armour, into the Chamber of Madame de Longueville, which was full of Ladies; the Mixture of blue Scarves, Ladies, Cuirassiers, Fiddlers, and Trumpeters in and about the Hall, was such a Sight as we seldom meet with but in Romances. Noirmoutier, who was a great Admirer of *Astrea*, said, he imagin'd that we were besieg'd in *Marcilli*. Well you may, said I, Madame de Longueville is as fair as *Galatea*, but Marillac (Son to Monsieur de la Rochefoucault) is not a Man of so much Honour as Lindamor. I fancied I was over-heard by one in a neighbouring Window, who might tell it to M. de la Rochefoucault, for otherwise, I cannot guess at the first Cause of the Hatred which he afterwards bore to me.

Before I proceed in giving you the Detail of the Civil War, suffer me to lead you into the Gallery, where you, who are an Admirer of fine Painting, will be entertain'd with the Figures of the chief Actors, drawn all at length in their proper Colours, and you will be able to judge, by the History, whether they are painted to the Life. Let us begin, as it is but just, with Her Majesty.

The Character of the Queen.

The Queen excell'd in that kind of Wit which was necessary for her turn, to the end she might not appear silly before Strangers; she had more Ill-Nature than Pride, more Pride than real Grandeur, and more of Shew than Substance; she lov'd Money too well to be

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Liberal, and her own Interest too well to be Impartial; was more of the constant, than of the passionate Lover; more implacable than cruel; and more mindful of Injuries than of good Offices. She had more of the pious Intention, than of real Piety; more of Obstinacy, than a well-grounded Resolution; and a greater Measure of Incapacity, than of all the rest.

Character of the Duke of *Orleans*.

The Duke of *Orleans* possess'd all the good Qualities necessary for a Man of Honour, except Courage; but having not one Quality eminent enough to make him much taken Notice of, he had nothing in him to supply or support his Foible, which was so predominant in his Heart through Fear, and in his Mind through Irresolution, that it tarnish'd the whole Course of his Life. He engaged in all Affairs, because he had not Power to resist the Importunities of those Persons who drew him in for their own Advantage, and came off always with Shame, for want of Courage to go on. His suspicious Temper, even from his Childhood, deaden'd those lively gay Colours which would have shone out naturally with the Advantages of a fine bright Genius, an amiable Gracefulness, a very honest Disposition, a perfect Disinterestedness, and an incredible Easiness of Behaviour.

Character of the Prince of *Conde*.

The Prince of *Conde* was born a General, an Honour none could ever boast of before, but *Cæsar*, and *Spinola*; he was equal to the first, but an over-match to the second. Intrepidity, is one of the least Parts of his Character. Nature gave him a Genius as great as his Heart. It was his Fortune to be born in an Age of War, which gave him an Opportunity to display his Courage in its full Extent; but his Birth, or rather Education, in a Family submissively attach'd to the Cabinet, restrain'd his noble Genius within too narrow Bounds. There was no Care taken betimes to inspire him with those great and general Maxims which form and improve a Man of Parts. He had not Time to acquire them
by

by his own Application, because he was prevented from his Youth by the unexpected Revolution, and by a constant Series of Successes. This one Imperfection, though he had as pure a Soul as any in the World, was the Reason that he did Things which were not to be justified; that as he had the Heart of *Alexander*, so he had his Infirmities; and that he was guilty of unaccountable Follies; that having all the Talents of *Francis of Guise*, he did not serve the State upon some Occasions, as well as he ought; and that having the Parts of *Henry of Conde*, his Name sake, he did not push the Faction as far as he might have done; nor did he discharge all the Duties his extraordinary Merit demanded from him.

Character of the Duke of *Longueville*.

Monfieur d' *Longueville*, though he had the fine Name of *Orleans*, together with Vivacity, an agreeable Air, Generosity, Liberality, Justice, Valour, and Grandeur, yet never made any extraordinary Figure in Life, because his Ideas were infinitely above his Capacity. If a Man has Abilities and great Designs, he is sure to be look'd upon as a Man of some Importance; but if he does not carry them on, he is not much esteem'd; which was the Case of *Longueville*.

Character of the Duke of *Beaufort*.

Monfieur de *Beaufort* knew little of Affairs of Moment, but by hearsay, and by what he had learnt in the Cabal of *Importants*, of whose Jargon he had retain'd a little Smattering, which, together with some Expressions he had learnt perfectly of *Madame de Vendome*, form'd a Language that would have puzzled a *Cato*. His Diction was short, and stupidly dull, and the more so, because he obscur'd it by Affectation. He thought himself very sufficient, and pretended to a great deal more Wit than came to his Share. He was brave enough in his Person, and outdid the common Hectors, by being so upon all Occasions; but never more *mal a propos*, than in Gallantry. And he talk'd and thought just as the People did, whose Idol he was for some time.

Character

Character of Monsieur d' Elbeuf.

Monsieur *d' Elbeuf* could not fail of Courage, as he was a Prince of the House of *Lorraine*; he had all the Wit that a Man of abundance more Cunning and good Sense could pretend to. He was a Medley of incoherent Flourishes. He was the first Prince debased by Poverty, and perhaps, never Man was more at a Loss than he, to raise the Pity of the People in Misery. A comfortable Subsistence did not raise his Spirits; and if he had been Master of Riches, he had been envy'd as a Leader of a Party. Poverty so well became him, that it seem'd as if he had been cut out for a Beggar.

Character of the Duke of Bouillon.

The Duke of *Bouillon*, was a Man of experienc'd Valour, and profound Sense. I am fully persuaded, by what I have seen of his Conduct, that those who cry it down, wrong his Character; and it may be, others had too favourable Notions of his Merit, who thought him capable of all the great Things which he never did.

Character of Monsieur de Turenne.

Monsieur *de Turenne*, had all the good Qualities in his very Nature, and acquir'd all the great ones very early, whose only excepted, that he never thought of. Though almost all the Virtues were in a manner natural to him. Yet he shone out in none. He was look'd upon as more proper to be at the Head of an Army, than of a Faction; for he was not naturally enterprising. He had in all his Conduct, as well as in his Way of Talking, certain Obscurities, which he never explain'd but on particular Occasions, and then only for his own Honour.

Character of Marechal de la Mothe.

The Marechal *de la Mothe*, was a Captain of the second Rank, full of Mettle, but not a Man of much Sense; he was affable and courteous in Civil Life, and a very useful Man in a Faction, because of his wonderful Complacency.

Character

Character of the Prince of *Conti*.

The Prince of *Conti* was a second *Zero*, as he was a Prince of the Blood; That's his Character, with regard to the Publick; and as to his private Capacity, Wickedness had the same Effect in him, as Weakness had in Monsieur *d'Elbeuf*, and drowned his other Qualities, which were all mean, and tinctur'd with Folly.

Character of Monsieur *de Rochefoucault*.

Monsieur *de Rochefoucault*, had something so odd in all his Conduct, that I know not what Name to give it. He lov'd to be engag'd in Intrigues from a Child. He was never capable to carry on any Affair, for what Reasons I could not conceive; for he had Endowments, which, in another, would have made amends for Imperfections.

He had not a long View of what was out of his Reach, nor a quick Apprehension of what was within it; but his sound Sense, very good in Speculation, his good Nature, his engaging and wonderful easie Behaviour, was enough to have made amends, more than it did, for his want of Penetration. He was habitually Wavering in his Resolution; but what to attribute it to, I know not; for it could not come from his fertile Imagination, which was lively. Nor can I say it came from the Barrenness of Thought; for though he was not very curious in Action, yet he had a good Fund of Reason. The Effect of this Irresolution is very visible, tho' we don't know the Cause. He never was a Warrior, tho' a true Soldier: He never was a Courtier, tho' he had always a good Mind to be one: He never was a good Party Man, tho' his whole Life was engag'd in Party. He was very timorous and bashful in Conversation, and thought he always stood in need of Apologies, which, considering that his Maxims shew'd no great Regard for Virtue, and that his Practice was always to get out of Affairs with the same Hurry as he got in, makes me conclude, that he would have done much better, if he had contented himself to have pass'd, as he might have done

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done for the politest Courtier, and the civillest Gentleman of his Age in Conversation.

Character of Madame de Longueville.

Madame de Longueville, had naturally a great Fund of Wit, and had moreover, all the fine Turns of it; but her indolent Temper kept her from making any Use of her Talents, either in Gallantries, or in her Hatred against the Prince of Conde. Her languishing Air had more Charms in it, than the most shining Beauty. She had few or no Faults, besides what she contracted in her Gallantry. As her Passion of Love influenced her Conduct, more than Politicks, she who was the Amazon of a great Party, degenerated to the Character of a Fortune-Hunter. But the Grace of God recovered her again, which all the World was not able to do.

Character of Madame Chevreuse.

Madam * *Chevreuse* had not so much as the Remains of Beauty, when I knew her; she was the only Person I ever saw, whose Vivacity supplied the Want of Judgment; she had some extraordinary bright Turns, so wise, that the greatest Men of the Age would not have been asham'd to own them, while, in Truth, they were owing to some lucky Opportunity. If she had been born in Time of Peace, she would never have imagined there could have been such a Thing as War. If the Prior of the *Carthusians* had but pleas'd her, she had been a Nun all her Life-Time. Monsieur de ** *Lorraine* was the first that engaged her in State Affairs. The Duke of § *Buckingham*, and the Earl of *Holland*, (an

* Mary de Rhoan, Daughter to Hercules de Rhoan, Duke of Montbazon, and to Magdalen de Lenoncourt, Born 1600, Married 1617, to Charles d' Albert, Duke of Luine, and in 1621, to Claudius of Lorraine, Duke of Chevreuse, died in August 1679.

** Charles the 4th, Duke of Lorraine, died 1675.

§ George Villars, Duke of Buckingham, assassinated when preparing to succour Rochelle.

English Lord, of the Family of *Rich*, and younger Son of the Earl of *Warwick*, then Ambassador in *France*, kept her to them; Monsieur de *Chateauneuf* continued the Amusement, till at last she abandoned her self to the pleasing of a Person whom she loved, without any Choice, and purely because it was impossible for her to live without being in Love with some Body. It was no hard Task to give her one, to serve the Turn of the Faction; but as soon as she accepted of him, she lov'd him with all her Heart and Soul, and she confessed, that by the Caprice of Fortune, she never lov'd best where she esteem'd most, except the poor Duke of *Buckingham*. Notwithstanding her Attachment to Love, which we may properly call her everlasting Passion, notwithstanding the Change of Objects, she was peevish and touchy, almost to Distraction, but then she came to her self again with Transports which were very agreeable; never was any Body less fearful of real Danger, and never had Woman more Contempt for Scruples and Ceremonies.

Character of Mademoiselle de *Chevreuse*.

Mademoiselle de *Chevreuse* was more more Beautiful in her Person, than Charming in her Carriage, being naturally extreamly silly; her Amorous Passion made her seem witty, serious and agreeable only to him whom she was in love with; but she soon treated him, as she did her Petticoat, which To-Day she took into her Bed, and two Hours after cast into the Fire, out of pure Aversion.

Character of the Princess *Palatine*.

The Princess § *Palatine* had just as much Gallantry as Gravity. I believe she had as great a Talent for State Affairs, as *Elizabeth*, Queen of *England*. I have

§ Anne de Gonzague Cleves, Marry'd in 1645, to Edward of Bavaria, Prince *Palatine* of the Rhine. She was Daughter of Charles, Duke of Mantua Neuers.

seen her in the Faction, I have seen her in the Cabinet, and found her every where equally sincere.

Character of Madame de Montbazon.

Madame de Montbazon was a very great Beauty, only Modesty was visibly wanting in her Air; her big Looks, and her way of Talking, sometimes supply'd her want of Sense. She lov'd nothing more than her Pleasures, unless her private Interest; and I never knew a vicious Person that had so little Respect for Virtue.

Character of the first President.

If it were not a sort of Blasphemy to say that any Mortal of our Times had more Courage than the great *Gustavus Adolphus* and the Prince of Conde, I would venture to affirm it of Monsieur Mole, the first President; but his Wit was far inferior to his Courage. It is true, that he had no agreeable Pronunciation; but his Eloquence was such, that tho' it shock'd the Ear, it seiz'd the Imagination. He sought the Interest of the Publick preferably to all Things, not excepting the Interest of his own Family, which yet he lov'd too much for a Magistrate. He had not a Genius to see betimes the Good he was capable of doing, presumed too much upon his Authority, and imagin'd that he could moderate both the Court and Parliament; but he fail'd in both, made himself suspected by both; and thus with a Design to do Good, he did Evil; Prejudices contributed not a little to this, for I observed he was prejudiced to such a Degree, that he always judg'd of Actions by the Men, and scarce ever of Men by their Actions.

To return to our History. All the Companies having united, and settled the necessary Funds, a compleat Army was rais'd in *Paris* in a Week's time. The *Bastille* surrender'd after 5 or 6 Cannon-Shot; and it was a pretty Sight, to see the Women carry their Chairs into the Garden where the Battery was, for the Sake of seeing the Siege, just as if they went to hear a Sermon.

Monsieur de Beaufort having escaped from his Confinement, arriv'd this very Day in *Paris*. I found that

his Imprisonment had not made him one Jot the Wiser. Indeed it had got him a Reputation, because he bore it with Constancy, and made his Escape with Courage. It was also his Merit, not to have abandoned the Banks of the *Loire*, in a Time, when it absolutely requir'd Abundance of Skill and Courage to stay there. It is an easy Matter for those who are disgrac'd at Court, to make the best of their own Merit in the Beginning of a Civil War. He had a Mind to form an Alliance with me, and knowing how to employ him advantageously, I prepossest the People in his Favour, and aggravated the Contrivance which the Cardinal had form'd against him, by the Means of *du Hamel*.

As my Friendship was necessary to him, his was necessary to me; for my Profession, in many Occasions, being a Restraint upon me, I wanted a Man sometimes to stand before me. Monsieur *de la Mothe* was so dependant on Monsieur *de Longueville*, that I could not pass my Word for him. And Monsieur *de Bouillon* was not a Man to be governed.

We went together to wait on the Prince of *Conti*; we stopp'd the Coach in the Streets, where I proclaimed the Name of *M. de Beaufort*, prais'd him and shew'd him to the People; upon which, the People took Fire in an Instant, the Women kist'd him, and the Crowd was so great, that we had much ado to get to the Town-Hall. The next Day he offer'd a Petition to the Parliament, desiring he might have leave to justify himself against the Accusation of his having form'd a Design against the Life of the Cardinal, which was granted, and he was accordingly clear'd next Day; and the Parliament issued out that famous Arret for seizing all the Cash of the Crown, in all the Publick and private Receipt Offices of the Kingdom, and employing it in the common Defence.

The Prince of *Conde* was enrag'd at the Declaration publish'd by the Prince of *Conti* and Monsieur *de Longueville*, which cast the Court then at *St. Germain*, into such a Despair, that the Cardinal was upon the Point of retiring. I was abused there without Mercy, as appear'd by

by a Letter sent to Madame Longueville, from the Princess her Mother; in which I read this Sentence, *They rail here plentifully against the Coadjutor, whom yet I cannot forbear thanking, for what he has done for the poor Queen of England.* This Circumstance is very curious. You must know, that a few Days before the King left Paris, I visited the Queen of England, whom I found in the Apartment of her Daughter, since Madame d'Orleans. You see, Sir, said the Queen, *I come to keep Henrietta Company, the poor Child has lain in Bed all Day for want of a Fire.* The Truth is, the Cardinal having stopp'd the Queen's Pension six Months, Tradesmen were unwilling to give her Credit, and there was not a Chip of Wood in the House. You may be sure, I took Care that a Princess of Great Britain should not be confined to her Bed next Day, for Want of a Faggot. And a few Days after, I exaggerated the Scandal of this Desertion, and the Parliament sent the Queen a Present of forty Thousand Livres. Posterity will hardly believe, that the Queen of England, Grand Daughter to Henry the Great, wanted a Faggot to get out of Bed, in the Month of January, in the Louvre, and at the Court of France. There are many Passages in History less Monstrous than this, which give one Horror, and this mean Action of the Court, made so little Impression upon the Minds of the Generality of the People at that time, that I have reflected a Thousand Times since: *That we are more mov'd by far, at the Hearing of old Stories, than those of the present time.* We are not shock'd at what we see with our Eyes; and I question, whether our Surprize would be so great as we imagine, at the Story of Caligula's promoting his Horse to the Dignity of a Consul, were he and his Horse now living.

To return to the War. A Cornet of my Regiment being taken Prisoner, and carry'd to St. Germain, the Queen immediately order'd his Head to be cut off; but I sent a Trumpeter to acquaint the Court, that I would make Reprisals upon my Prisoners; so that my Cornet was exchange'd, and a Cartel settled.

As soon as *Paris* declar'd it self, all the Kingdom was in a Quandary; for the Parliament of *Paris* sent Circular Letters to all the Parliaments and Cities in the Kingdom, exhorting them to join against the common Enemy; upon which the Parliaments of *Aix* and *Roan* join'd with that of *Paris*. The Prince of *Harcourt*, now Duke of *Elbeuf*, and the Cities of *Rheims*, *Tours*, and *Poitiers*, took up Arms in its Favour. The Duke of *la Tremouille* rais'd Men for them publickly. The Duke of *Retz* offer'd his Service to the Parliament, together with *Belle Isle*. *Le Mans* expell'd its Bishop, and all the *Lavardin* Family, which was in the Interest of the Court.

The 18th of *January*, 1649, I was admitted to a Seat and Vote in Parliament, and sign'd an Association with the chief Leaders of the Party, viz. *Messieurs de Beaufort, de Bouillon, de la Mothe, de Noirmoutier, de Vitri, de Brissac, de Maure, de Matba, de * Cugnac, de Barnire, de Sillery, de la Rochefoucaut, de Laigues, de Sevigny, de Bethune, de Luines, de Chaumont, de St. Germain, d'Action, and de Fiesque*.

On the 9th of *February*, the Prince of *Conde* attack'd and took *Charenton*. During this, all the Country People flock'd to *Paris* with Provisions, not only because there was Plenty of Money, but to enable the Citizens to hold out against the Siege, which was begun on the 9th of *January*.

On the 12th of *February*, a Herald came with two Trumpeters from the Court, to one of the City Gates, bringing three Packets of Letters, one for the Parliament, one for the Prince of *Conti*, and the third for the Town-House. 'Twas but the Night before that a Person was taken in the Halls, dropping Libels against the Parliament and me; upon which the Parliament, Princes, and City, supposed that this State Visit was nothing but an Amusement of Cardinal *Mazarin*, to cover a worse Design; and therefore re-

* Antony de Cugnac. Marquis of Dampiere.

solved not to receive the Message, nor give the Herald Audience, but to send the King's Council to the Queen, to represent to Her, that their Refusal was out of pure Obedience and Respect; becaule Heralds are never sent but to Sovereign Princes, or publick Enemies; and that the Parliament, the Prince of *Conti*, and the City, were neither the one nor the other. At the same time the Chevalier *de la Valette*, who dispers'd the Libels, had form'd a Design to kill me and Monsieur *de Beaufort*, upon the Parliament Stairs, in the great Crowd which they expected would attend the Appearance of the Herald. The Court indeed always denied his having any other Commission, than to disperse the Libels; but I am certain, that the Bishop of *Dole* told the Bishop of *Aire*, but a Night or two before, that *Beaufort* and I should not be among the Living three Days hence.

The King's Counsellors returned with a Report how kindly they had been receiv'd at *St. Germain*. They said, the Queen highly approv'd of the Reasons offer'd by the Parliament for refusing Entrance to the Herald, and that she had assur'd them, that tho' she could not own the Parliament (in the present State of Affairs;) yet she receiv'd with Joy, the Assurances they had given Her of their Respect and Submission; and that she would distinguish them in general and particular, by special Marks of Her good Will. *Talon*, Advocate-General, who always spoke with Dignity and Force, dress'd up this Answer of the Queen with all the Ornaments he could give it, assuring the Parliament, in very pathetic Terms, that if they would be pleas'd to send a Deputation to *St. Germain*, it would be very kindly receiv'd, and might, perhaps, be a great Step toward a Peace.

When I saw that we were besieged; that the Cardinal had sent a Person into *Flanders*, to treat with the *Spaniards*; and that our Party was now so well form'd, that there was no Danger, that I alone should be charg'd with courting the Alliance of the Enemies of the State, I was no more scrupulous on this Head, but judg'd, that as Affairs stood, I might with Honour hear what Proposals the *Spaniards* would make me for the Relief of

Paris; but I took Care not to have my Name mention'd, and that the first Overtures should be made to Monsieur d' *Elbeuf*, who was the fittest Person, because, during the Ministry of Cardinal *Richelieu*, he was twelve or fifteen Years in *Flanders* a Pensioner to *Spain*; accordingly *Arnolfs*, a *Bernardin* Fryar, was sent from the Arch-Duke *Leopold*, Governor of the *Spanish* Netherlands for the King of *Spain*, to the Duke d' *Elbeuf*, who upon sight of his Credentials, thought himself the most considerable Man of the Party, invited the Chief of us to Dinner, and told us, he had a very important Matter to lay before us; but that such was his Tenderness for the *French* Name, that he could not open so much as a small Letter from a suspected Quarter, which, after some scrupulous and mysterious Circumlocutions, he ventur'd to name, and we agreed one and all, not to refuse the Succours from *Spain*; but the great Difficulty was, which way to get them. *Fuensaldagne*, the General, was inclinable to join us, if he could have been sure that he would engage with him; but as there was no possibility of the Parliaments treating with him, nor no Dependance upon the Generals, some of whom were wavering and whimsical, Madame de *Bouillon* press'd me not to hesitate any longer, but to join with her Husband, adding, that if he and I united, we should be so far an Overmatch for the others, that it would not be in their Power to give us any Pain.

Monsieur de *Bouillon* and I agreed to use our Interest to oblige the Parliament to hear what the Envoy had to say. I propos'd it to the Parliament; but the first Motion of it was hiss'd, in a manner, by all the Company, as much as if it had been Heretical. The old President *Coigneux*, a Man of a quick Apprehension, observing that I sometimes mentioned a Letter from the Arch-Duke, of which there had been no Talk, declar'd himself suddenly to be of my Opinion. He had a secret Persuasion that I had seen some Writings which they knew nothing of, and therefore while both Sides were standing up very hot in Debate, he said to me: *Why*
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don't you disclose your self to your Friends? they would come into your Measures. I see very well you know more of the Matter than the Person who thinks himself your Informer. I Vow I was terribly ashamed of my Indiscretion. I squeeze'd him by the Hand, and wink'd at Messieurs de Beaufort and de la Mothe. At length, two other Presidents came over to my Opinion, being thoroughly convinced, that Succours from Spain, at this Time, were a Remedy absolutely necessary to our Disease; but a dangerous and Empyrick Medicine, and infallibly mortal to particular Persons, if it did not pass first through the Parliament's Alembick.

The Bernardin being tutor'd by us beforehand what to say, when he came before the Parliament, behav'd like a Man of good Sense.

When he desir'd Audience, or rather, when the Prince of Conti desired it for him, the President *de Mesmes*, a Man of great Capacity, but by Fear and Ambition most slavishly attach'd to the Court, made an eloquent and pathetic Harangue, preferable to any thing I ever met with of the Kind in all the Monuments of Antiquity; and turning about to the Prince of Conti, *Is it possible, Monsieur*, said he, *that a Prince of the Blood of France, should propose to let a Person deputed from the most bitter Enemy of the Flowers de Lys, have a seat upon those Flowers?* Then turning to me, he said, *What, Sir, will you refuse entrance to your Sovereign's Herald upon the most trifling Pretexts?* — I knew what was coming, and therefore I endeavour'd to stop his Mouth by this Answer: *Sir, you will excuse me from calling those Reasons frivolous, which have been the Sanction of an Arret.* The Bulk of the Parliament was provoked at the President's unguarded Expression; baited him very fiercely; and then I made some Pretence to go out, leaving *Quatresous*, a young Man, of the most warm Temper in the House, to skirmish with him in my stead, as having experienced more than once, that the only Way to get any thing of Moment pass'd in Parliamentary or other Assemblies, is to exasperate the young Men against the old ones.

In short, after many Debates, it was carry'd, that the Envoy should be admitted to audience. Being accordingly admitted, and bid to be covered, and sit down, he presented the Arch-Duke's Credentials, and then made a Speech, in Substance, *viz.* " That
 " his Master had order'd him to acquaint the Company,
 " of a Negotiation offer'd him by Cardinal *Mazarin*,
 " since the Blockade of *Paris*; which his Catholick
 " Majesty did not think consistent with his Safety or
 " Honour to accept, when he saw, that on the one
 " Hand, it was with a View to oppress the Parliament,
 " which was held in Veneration by all the Kingdoms
 " in the World; and on the other, that all Treaties
 " made with a condemn'd Minister, would be null and
 " void, forasmuch as they were made without the Con-
 " currence of the Parliament, to whom only it belong'd
 " to Register and Verifie Treaties of Peace, in order to
 " make them sure and authentic. That the Catholick
 " King, who propos'd to take no Advantage from the
 " present State of Affairs, had order'd the Arch-Duke
 " to assure the Parliament, whom he knew to be in the
 " true Interest of the most Christian King, that he
 " heartily acknowledg'd them to be the Arbiters of
 " Peace; that he submitted to their Judgment; and that
 " if they thought proper to be the Judges, he left it to
 " their Choice, to send a Deputation out of their own
 " Body, to what Place they pleas'd, *Paris* it self not
 " excepted; and that his Catholick Majesty would also,
 " without Delay, send his Deputies thither to meet and
 " treat with them. That mean while he had order'd
 " 18000 Men to march towards their Frontiers, to re-
 " lieve them in case of need; with Orders neverthe-
 " less to commit no Hostilities, upon the Towns, &c.
 " of the most Christian King, though they were for
 " the most part abandoned; and it being his Resolution
 " at this Juncture, to shew his sincere Inclination for
 " Peace, he gave them his Word of Honour, that his
 " Armies should not stir during the Treaty. But that
 " in case his Troops might be serviceable to the Parlia-
 " liament, they were at their disposal, to be command-

" ed

“ ed by *French Officers*; and that to obviate all the reasonable Jealousies generally attending the Conduct of
“ *Foreigners*, they were at their Liberty to take all
“ other Precautions they should think proper.

Before his Admission, the President *de Mesmes* had loaded me with Invectives, for secretly corresponding with the Enemies of the State, for favouring his Admission, and for opposing that of my Sovereign's Herald.

I had observed, that when the Objections against a Man are capable of making greater Impression than his Answers, 'tis his only way to say but little; and that, he may talk as much as he pleases when he thinks his Answers of greater Force than the Objections. I kept exactly to this Rule, for tho' the said President artfully pointed his Satyr at me, I sate as unconcerned, till I found the Parliament was charm'd with what the Envoy had said; and then, in my Turn, I was even with the President, by telling him in short, “ That my Respect
“ for the Parliament had oblig'd me to put up with his
“ *Sarcasms*, which I had hitherto dissembled; that I
“ did not suppose he meant, that his Sentiments should
“ always be a Law to the Parliament; that no Body
“ there had a greater Esteem for him, with which I
“ hop'd, the innocent Freedom I had taken to speak
“ my Mind, was not inconsistent. That as to the Non-
“ admission of the Herald, had it not been for the Motion made by Monsieur *Broussel*, I had fallen into the
“ Snare, through an overcredulity, and have given
“ my Vote for that, which might perhaps have ended
“ in the Destruction of the City, and involved my self
“ in what is since fully proved to be a Crime, by the
“ Queen's late solemn Approbation of the contrary
“ Conduct; and that as to the Envoy, I was silent, till
“ I saw most Voices were for giving him Audience,
“ when I thought it better to Vote the same Way, than
“ vainly to contest it.

This modest and submissive Answer of mine, to all the Scurrilities thrown upon me for a Fortnight together, by the first President, and the President *de Mesmes*, had an excellent Effect upon the Company, and obliterated

for a long time the Jealousies, they had begun to raise among the Members, *That I aim'd to govern them by my Cabals.* The President *de Mesmes* would have replied, but his Words were drown'd in the general Clamour. The Clock struck five, none had dined, and many had not broke their Fast, which the Presidents had, and therefore had the Advantage in Disputation.

The Arret ordering the Admission of the *Spanish* Envoy to Audience, directed that a Copy of what he spoke in Parliament, signed with his own Hand, should be demanded of him, to the End it might be Registred, and that, by a solemn Deputation, it should be sent to the Queen, with an Assurance of the Fidelity of the Parliament, beseeching Her at the same time, to withdraw her Troops from the Neighbourhood of *Paris*, and to restore Peace to Her People. It being now very late, and the Company very hungry, (Circumstances that have greater Influence than can be imagin'd in Debates,) they were upon the Point of letting this Clause pass, for want of due Attention. The President *le Coigneux* was the first that discover'd the grand Mistake, and addressing himself to a great many Counsellors, who were rising up, said: Gentlemen, *Pray take your Places again, for I have something to offer to the House, which is of the last Importance to all Europe.* When they had taken their Places, he spoke as follows:

“ The King of *Spain* takes us for Arbiters of the
 “ General Peace; it may be He is not in Earnest; but
 “ yet 'tis a Compliment to tell us so. He offers us
 “ Troops to march to our Relief, and it is certain He
 “ does not banter us in this Article, but highly obliges
 “ us. We have heard his Envoy, and considering the
 “ Circumstances we are in, we were in the right so to
 “ do. We have resolv'd to give an Account of it to the
 “ King, and it is but reasonable; some imagine, that
 “ we propose to send the Original Arret; but here lies
 “ the Snake in the Grass: I protest, Sir, said he, turning
 “ to the first President, that the Company did not
 “ understand it so, but that the Copy only should be
 “ carried to Court, and the Original be kept in the Re-
 “ gister.

“ gifter. I could wish there had been no occasion for Ex-
 “ planation, because there are some Affairs, when it is
 “ not prudent to speak all that one thinks; but since I
 “ am forc’d to it, I must say it without farther hesitation,
 “ that in case we deliver up the Original, the *Spaniards*
 “ will conclude, that we expose their Proposals for a ge-
 “ neral Peace, and our own safety, to the Caprice of
 “ Cardinal *Mazarin*: Whereas, by delivering only a
 “ Copy, accompanied with humble Remonstrances for a
 “ general Peace, as the Parliament has wisely order’d, all
 “ *Europe* will see that we maintain our selves in a Condi-
 “ tion capable of doing real Service both to our King
 “ and Country, if the Cardinal is so blind as not to make
 “ a right Advantage of this Opportunity.

This Discourse was receiv’d with the Approbation of
 all the Members, who cry’d out from all Corners of the
 House, the Gentlemen of the Court of Inquests did not
 spare the Presidents, Monsieur *Martineau* said publickly,
 that the Tenor of this Arret was, that the Envoy of
Spain should be made much of, till they received an An-
 swer from *St. Germain*; which could be no other than one
 of the Quirks of the Cardinal. *Pontcarre* said, he was
 not so much afraid of a *Spaniard* as of a *Mazarin*. In
 short, the Generals had the Satisfaction to see, that the
 Parliament would not be sorry for any Advances they
 should make towards an Alliance with *Spain*.

We sent a Courier to *Brouffels*, who was guarded 10
 Leagues out of *Paris* by 500 Horse, with an Account of
 every thing done in Parliament, of the Conditions which
 the Prince of *Conti* and the other Generals desired, for
 entering into a Treaty with *Spain*, and of what Engage-
 ment I could make in my own private Capacity.

After he was gone, I had a Conference with M. *Bou-
 illon* and his Lady, about the present State of Affairs,
 which I observ’d was very ticklish: “ That if we were
 “ favour’d by the general Inclination of the People, we
 “ should carry all before us; but that the Parliament,
 “ which was our chief Strength in one Sense, was in
 “ other respects, our main Weakness. That they were
 “ very apt to go backward, and that in the very last
 “ Debate

" Debate they had like to have twisted a Rope for their
 " own Necks, and that the first President would shew
 " *Mazarin* his true Interests, and be glad to amuse us,
 " by stipulating with the Court for our Security, with-
 " out putting us in Possession of it, and by ending the
 " Civil War in the Confirmation of our Slavery. The
 " Parliament, I said, inclines to an insecure and scanda-
 " lous Peace: We can make the People rise to Morrow,
 " if we please; but ought we to attempt it? And if we
 " divest the Parliament of its Authority, into what an
 " Abyss of Disorders shall we not precipitate *Paris*?
 " But on the other Hand, if we don't raise the People;
 " will the Parliament ever believe we can? Will they
 " be hindred from making any further Steps in Favour
 " of the Court, destructive indeed to their own Interest,
 " but infallibly ruinous to us first.

Monsieur *de Bouillon*, who did not believe our Affairs
 to be in so slippery a Situation, was, together with his
 Lady, in a very great Surprize. The mild and honourable
 Answer which the Queen returned to the King's Coun-
 tellors, in relation to the Herald, Her Protestations that
 she sincerely forgave all the World, and the shining Gloss
 of *Talon* upon her said Answer, did, in an Instant, over-
 turn the former Resolutions of the Parliament; and if
 they regain'd sometimes their wonted Vigour, either by
 some intervening Accidents, or by the skilful Manage-
 ment of those that took care to bring them back to the
 right Way, they had still an Inclination to recede. Mon-
 sieur *de Bouillon* being the wisest Man of the Party, I
 told him what I thought, and with him I concerted
 proper Measures. To the rest, I put on a chearful Air;
 and magnified every little Circumstance of Affairs to our
 own Advantage.

M. *de Bouillon* proposed, that we should let the Parlia-
 ment and Town-House go on in their own Way, and
 endeavour all we could underhand to make them odious
 to the People; and that we should take the first Oppor-
 tunity to secure, by Banishment or Imprisonment, such
 Persons as we could not depend on. He added, that
Longueville too was of Opinion, that there was no Re-
 medy left but to *purge the Houses*. This was exactly like
 in

him; for never was there a Man so positive and violent in his Opinion, and yet no Man living could palliate it with smother Language. Tho' I thought of this Expedient before Monsieur de Bouillon, and perhaps could have said more for it, because I saw the possibility of it much clearer than he; yet I would not give him to understand that I had thought on it, because I knew he had the Vanity to love to be esteemed the first Author of Things, which was the only Weakness I observed in his managing of State Affairs. I left him an Answer in Writing, in Substance as follows:

“ I confess the Scheme is very feasible, but attended
“ with pernicious Consequences, both to the Publick,
“ and to private Persons; for the same People, whom
“ you employ to humble the Magistracy, will refuse you
“ Obedience, when you demand of them the same
“ Homage they paid to the Magistrates. This People
“ adored the Parliament till the beginning of the War,
“ they are still for continuing the War, and they abate
“ their Friendship for the Parliament. The Parliament
“ imagine that it cools only to some particular Members,
“ who are *Mazarin'd*; but they are deceiv'd, for their
“ Prejudice extends to the whole Company; and their
“ Hatred towards *Mazarin's* Party, supports and
“ screens their Indifference towards all the rest. We
“ cheer up their Spirits by Pasquinades and Ballads, and
“ the martial Sound of Trumpets, and Kettle Drums;
“ but after all, do they pay their Taxes as punctually as
“ they did the first Weeks? Are there many that have
“ done like you and I, Sir, who sent our Plate to the
“ Mint? Don't you observe, that they who would be
“ thought zealous for the common Cause, plead in Fa-
“ vour of some Facts committed by those Men, who
“ are in short its Enemies? If the People are so tired
“ already, what must they be long before they come to
“ their Journey's end?

“ After we have establish'd our own Authority upon
“ the Ruine of the Parliament's, we shall fall infallibly
“ into the same Inconveniencies, and be oblig'd to act
“ just as they do now. We shall impose Taxes, raise
Monies,

“ Monies, and differ from the Parliament only in this,
 “ that the Hatred and Envy they have contracted, by
 “ various Ways, from one third Part of the People, I
 “ mean, the wealthy Citizens, in the Space of six
 “ Weeks, will devolve on us, with that of the other
 “ two thirds of the Inhabitants, and will compleat our
 “ Ruin in one Week. May not the Court to Morrow,
 “ put an End to the Civil War, by the Expulsion of
 “ *Mazarin*, and by raising the Siege of *Paris*? The
 “ Provinces are not yet sufficiently inflamed, and there-
 “ fore we must double our Application to make the
 “ most of *Paris*. Besides the Necessity of Treating
 “ with *Spain*, and managing the People, there is an-
 “ other Expedient come into my Head, capable of
 “ rendring us as considerable in Parliament as our Af-
 “ fairs require. We have an Army in *Paris*, which
 “ will be look’d upon as the People, so long as it con-
 “ tinues within its Walls. Every Counsellor of Inquest
 “ is inclin’d to believe his Authority among the Sol-
 “ diers, to be equal to that of the Generals. But the
 “ Leaders of the People are not believed to be very
 “ powerful, until they make their Power known by
 “ its Execution. Pray do but consider the Conduct
 “ of the Court upon this Occasion? Was there any
 “ Minister or Courtier but ridiculed all that could be
 “ said of the Disposition of the People in Favour of
 “ the Parliament, even to the Day of the Barricadoes?
 “ And yet it is as true, that every Man at Court saw
 “ infallible Marks of the Revolution beforehand. One
 “ would have thought that the Barricadoes should have
 “ convinced them; but have they been convinced?
 “ Have they been hindred from besieging *Paris*, on a
 “ slight Supposition, that tho’ the Caprice of the Peo-
 “ ple might run them into a Mutiny, yet it would not
 “ break out into a Civil War? What we are now
 “ doing, might undeceive them effectually; but are
 “ they yet cur’d of their Infatuation? Is not the Queen
 “ told every Day, that none are for the Parliament
 “ but hired Mobs, and that all the wealthy Burghers
 “ are in Her Majesty’s Interests?

“ The

“ The Parliament is now as much insatuated as the
“ Court was then. This present Disturbance among
“ the People, carries in it all the Marks of Power,
“ which, in a little Time, they will feel the Effects of,
“ and which, as they cannot but foresee, they ought
“ to prevent in Time, because of the Murmurs of the
“ People against them, and their redoubled Affection
“ for Monsieur *de Beaufort* and me. But far from it,
“ the Parliament will never open its Eyes, until all its
“ Authority is quashed by a sudden Blow. If they
“ see we have a Design against them, they will perhaps
“ have so inconsiderable an Opinion of it, that they
“ will take Courage; and if we should but flinch,
“ they will bear harder still upon us, till we shall be
“ forced to crush them; but this would not turn to our
“ Account; on the contrary, 'tis our true Interest to
“ do them all the Good we can, lest we divide our
“ own Party; and to behave in such a Manner, as
“ may convince them, that our Interest and theirs is
“ inseparable. And the best Way is, to draw our
“ Army out of *Paris*, and to Post it so, as it may be
“ ready to secure our Convoys, and be safe from the
“ Insults of the Enemy; and I am for having this
“ done at the Request of the Parliament, to prevent
“ their taking Umbrage, till such Time at least, as we
“ may find our Account in it. Such Precautions will
“ insensibly, as it were, necessitate the Parliament to
“ act in Concert with us; and our Favour among the
“ People, which is the only thing that can fix us in
“ that Situation, will appear to them no more con-
“ temptible, when they see it back'd by an Army,
“ which is no more at their Discretion.”

M. *de Bouillon*, told me, that M. *de Turenne* was upon the Point of declaring for us, and that there were but two Colonels in all his Army who gave him any Uneasiness; but that in a Week's Time, he would find some Way or other to manage them, and that then he would march directly to our Assistance. What do you think of this, said the Duke? Are not we now Masters both of the Court and Parliament?

I told

I told the Duke I had just seen a Letter writ by * *Hoquincourt* to *Madame de Montbazon*, wherein were only these Words : *O fairest of all Beauties, Peronne is in your Power.* I added, that I had received another Letter that Morning, which assured me of *Mazieres*. *Madame de Bouillon* threw herself about my Neck ; we were sure the Day was our own, and in a Quarter of an Hour agreed upon all the Preliminary Precautions.

M. de Bouillon perceiving that I was so overjoy'd at this News, that I gave little Attention, as well as his Lady, to the Methods he was proposing, for drawing the Army out of *Paris*, without alarming the Parliament, turn'd to me, and spoke thus very hastily, *I pardon my Wife, but I can't forgive you this Inadvertency. The old Prince of Orange used to say, that the Moment one received good News, should be employ'd in providing against bad.*

The 24th of February, 1649, the Parliament's Deputies waited on the Queen, with an Account of the Audience granted to the Envoy of the Arch-Duke. The Queen told them, that they should not have given Audience to the Envoy ; but that seeing they had done it, 'twas absolutely necessary to think of a good Peace ; that she was entirely well disposed ; and the Duke of *Orleans* and the Prince of *Conde*, promis'd the Deputies to open all the Passages, as soon as the Parliament should name Commissioners for the Treaty.

Flamarin, being sent at the same Time into the City from the Duke of *Orleans*, to condole the Queen of *England*, on the Death of her Husband King *Charles I.* went, at *la Riviere's* Sollicitation, to *M. de la Rochefoucaut*, whom he found in his Bed, sick of his Wounds, and quite fatigued with the Civil War, and persuaded him to come over to the Court Interest. He told *Flamarin*, that he had been drawn into this War much

* Charles de Monchi, Marquis of *Hoquincourt*, Gouverneur of *Peronne*, and Marechal of France, Anno 1657, and kill'd before *Dunkirk*, Anno 1658.

against his Inclination, and that he had returned from *Poitou* but two Months before the Siege of *Paris*, he had prevented *Madame de Longueville's* engaging in so vile a Cause; but that I had taken the Opportunity of his Absence to engage both her and the Prince of *Conti*; that he found the Engagements too far advanced to be possibly dissolved; that the Devilish Coadjutor would not hear any Terms of Peace, and also stopp'd the Ears of the Prince of *Conti*, and *Madame de Longueville*; and that himself could not act as he would, because of his ill State of Health. I was inform'd of *Flamarin's* Negotiations for the Court Interest; and as the Term of his Passport was expir'd, order'd the Provost *des Merchands* to command him to depart the City.

On the 27th, the first President reported to the Parliament what had pass'd at *St. Germain*. Monsieur *de Beaufort*, and I had much ado to keep the People from entering the great Chamber, for they threatned to throw the Deputies into the River, and said, they had betray'd them; and had held Conferences with *Mazarin*. It was as much as we could do, to allay the Fury of the People, tho' at the same Time the Parliament believ'd the Tumult was of our own raising. *This shews one Inconveniency of Popularity, viz. that what is committed by the Rabble, in spite of all your Endeavours to the contrary, will be still laid to your Charge.*

Mean while we met at the Duke of *Bouillon's*, to consider what was best to be done, in this critical Juncture, between a People mad for War, a Parliament for Peace, and the *Spaniards* either for Peace or War, at our Expences, and for their own Advantage. There the Prince of *Conti* being instructed beforehand by Monsieur *de Rochefoucault*, spoke for carrying on the War, but acted as if he was for a Peace; and upon the whole, I did not doubt but he waited for some Answer from *St. Germain*. Monsieur *d' Elbeuf* made a silly Proposal, to send the Parliament in a Body to the *Bastile*. Monsieur *de Beaufort*, whom we could not entrust with any important Secret, because of *Madame de Montbazon*, who was very false, wonder'd that his and my Credit
with

with the People was not made use of on this Occasion. It being very visible that the Parliament would greedily catch at the Treaty of Peace propos'd by the Court, it was in a manner impossible to answer those who urg'd, that the only Way to prevent it, was to hinder their Debates, by raising Tumults among the People. Monsieur de Beaufort held up both his Hands for it. Monsieur d'Elbeuf, who had lately receiv'd a Letter from *la Riviere*, full of Contempt, talk'd like an Officer of the Army. When I consider'd the great Risque I ran if I did not prevent a Tumult, which would certainly be laid at my Door; and that, on the other Hand, I did not dare to say all I could to hinder such Commotion, I was at a Loss what to do. But considering the Temper of the Populace, who might have been up in Arms with a Word, from a Person of any Credit among us, I declared publickly, that I was not for altering our Measures, till we knew what we were to expect from the *Spaniards*.

I experienced on this Occasion, *That Civil Wars are attended with this great Inconveniency, viz. that there is more need of Caution in what we say to our Friends, than in what we do against our Enemies.* I did not fail to make the Company of my Mind, especially when Monsieur de Bouillon fell in with me, who was convinced that the Confusion which would happen in such a Juncture, would return with a Vengeance upon the Authors. But when the Company was gone, he told me, he was resolv'd to free himself from the Tyranny, or rather, Pedantry of the Parliament, as soon as the Treaty with *Spain* was concluded, as soon as Monsieur de Turenne had declar'd himself publickly, and as soon as our Army was got without the Walls of *Paris*. I answer'd, that upon Monsieur de Turenne's Declaration, I would promise him my Concurrence; but that till then I could not separate from the Parliament, much less oppose them, without the Danger of being Banished to *Brussels*. That as for his own Part, he might come off better, because of his Knowledge in Military Affairs, and of the Settlements which *Spain* was able to give

give him ; but nevertheless, I desir'd him to remember Monsieur de Aumale, who fell into the Depth of Poverty, as soon as he had lost all Protection but that of Spain ; and consequently, that it was his Interest as well as mine, to adhere to the Parliament, till we had secured our selves some Establishment in the Kingdom ; till the Spanish Army was actually on the March ; till our Troops were encamp'd without the City ; and till the Declaration of Monsieur de Turenne, which would be the decisive Blow, because it would strengthen our Party with a Body of Troops altogether independant of Strangers, or rather, it would form a Party perfectly French, capable, by its own Strength, to carry on our Cause.

This last Consideration transported Madame de Bouillon, who, when she found that the Company was gone, without resolving to make themselves Masters of the Parliament, was very angry ; and said to the Duke, I told you before-hand, that you would be sway'd by the Coadjutor. The Duke reply'd, *What, Madame, would you have the Coadjutor, for our sakes only, run the Risque of being no more than Chaplain to Fuensaldagne ?* It is possible that you cannot comprehend what he has been preaching to you, for these last three Days ? I reply'd to Madame, with a great deal of Temper, and said, *Don't you think that we shall act more securely when our Troops are out of Paris, when we receive the Arch-Duke's Answer, and when Turenne has made publick Declaration ?* Yes, I do, said she ; *but the Parliament will take one Step to Morrow, which will render all your Preliminaries of no Use.* Never fear, Madame, said I, *I will undertake, that if our Measures succeed, we shall be in a Condition to despise all that the Parliament can do.* Will you promise it ? said she, Yes, said I, *and more than that, I am ready to seal it with my Blood.* She took me at my Word ; and tho' the Duke used all the Arguments with her which he could think of, she bound my Thumb with Silk, and with a Needle drew Blood, with which she oblig'd me to sign a Promissory Note, to this Effect : “ I promise
“ to

“ to Madame the Dutchess of *Bouillon*, to continue
 “ united with the Duke, her Husband, against the
 “ Parliament, in case that Monsieur de *Turenne* do ap-
 “ proach with the Army under his Command, within
 “ 20 Leagues of *Paris*, and declare for the City.”
 Monsieur de *Bouillon* threw it into the Fire, and endeavour’d to convince the Dutchess of what I had said, that if our Preliminaries should succeed, we should still stand upon our own Bottom, notwithstanding all that the Parliament could do; and that if they did miscarry, we should still have the Satisfaction of not being the Authors of a Confusion, which would infallibly cover me with Shame and Ruin, and be an uncertain Advantage to the Family of *Bouillon*.

During this, a Captain in Monsieur d’ *Elbeuf*’s Regiment of Guards, was seen to throw Money among the Apprentice Boys, to encourage them to go to the Parliament House, and cry out, *No Peace*; upon which Monsieur de *Bouillon*, and I agreed to send the Duke these Words, upon the Back of a Card, *It will be dangerous for you to be at the Parliament-House to Morrow.* Monsieur d’ *Elbeuf* came in all haste to the Palace of *Bouillon*, to know the Meaning of this short Caution. Monsieur de *Bouillon* told him, he heard the People had got a Notion, that both the Duke and himself held a Correspondence with *Mazarin*; and that therefore it was their best way not to go to the House, for fear of the Mob, which might be expected there next Day.

Monsieur d’ *Elbeuf*, knowing that the People did not care for him, and that he was no safer in his own House than elsewhere, said, that he fear’d his Absence, upon such an Occasion, might be interpreted to his Disadvantage, Monsieur de *Bouillon*, having no other Design but to alarm him with imaginary Fears of a publick Disturbance, made himself more sure of him another Way, by telling him, ’twas most adviseable for him to be at the Parliament; but that he needed not expose himself, and therefore had best go along with me.

I went

I went with him accordingly, and found a Multitude of People in the great Hall, crying, *God bless the Coadjutor ; No Peace, no Mazarin ;* and Monsieur de Beaufort entring another Way at the same Time, the Echoes of our Names spread every where, so that the People mistook it for a concerted Design to disturb the Proceedings of Parliament ; and, *as in a Commotion, every thing that confirms us in the Belief of it, augments likewise the Number of Mutineers ;* we were very near doing that in one Moment, which we had been a whole Week labouring to prevent.

The first President, and President *de Mesmes*, having, in Concert with the other Deputies, suppress'd the Answer the Queen made them in Writing, lest some harsh Expressions contain'd therein, should give Offence, put the best Colours they could invent upon the obliging Terms in which the Queen spoke to them : And then the House appointed Commissioners for the Treaty, leaving it to the Queen to name the Place, and agreed to send the King's Council next Day, to demand the Opening the Passages, in Pursuance of the Queen's Promise. The President *de Mesmes*, surpriz'd to meet with no Opposition, neither from the Generals, nor my self, said to the first President, *Here is a wonderful Harmony, but I fear the Consequences of this dissembled Moderation.* I believe he was much more surpriz'd, when the Serjeants came to acquaint the House, that the Mob threatned to Murder all that were for the Conference, before *Mazarin* was sent out of the Kingdom. But Monsieur *de Beaufort*, and I went out, and soon dispers'd them, so that the Members retired without the least Danger ; which inspired the Parliament with such a Degree of Boldness afterwards, as had like to have prov'd their Ruin.

On the 2d of *March*, 1649, Letters were brought to the Parliament from the Duke of *Orleans* and the Prince of *Conde*, expressing a great deal of Joy at what the Parliament had done ; but denying that the Queen had promis'd to open the Passages ; upon which the Parliament fell into such a Rage, as I cannot describe
to

to you. They sent Orders to the King's Council, who were gone that Morning to St. Germain to fetch the Passports for the Deputies, to declare, that the Parliament was resolv'd to hold no Conference with the Court, till the Queen had perform'd her Promise made to the first President. I thought it a very proper Time to let the Court see that the Parliament had not lost all its Vigour; and made a Motion, by *Broussel*, that considering the Insincerity of the Court, the Levies might be continued, and new Commissions given out. The Proposition was received with Applause, and the Prince of *Conti* was desir'd to issue out Commissions accordingly.

Monsieur de Beaufort, in Concert with *Monsieur de Bouillon*, *de la Mothe*, and my self, exclaim'd against this Contravention, and offer'd in the Name of his Colleagues and his own, to open all the Passages themselves, if the Parliament would but take a firm Resolution, and be no more amus'd by deceitful Proposals, which had only serv'd to keep the whole Nation in suspense, who would otherwise have declar'd by this Time in Favour of its Capital. It is inconceivable what Influence these few Words had upon the Audience, every Body concluded that the Treaty was already broke off; but a Moment after, they thought the contrary; for the King's Council return'd with the Passports for the Deputies, and instead of an Order for opening the Passages, a Grant, such an One as it was, of 500 Quarters of Corn *per diem*, for Subsistence of the City. However, the Parliament took all in good part; all that had been said and done a quarter of an Hour before, was buried in Oblivion, and they made Preparations to go next Day to *Ruel*, the Place named by the Queen for the Conference.

The Prince of *Conti*, *de Beaufort*, *d'Elbeuf*, *Mareschal la Mothe*, *de Brissac*, *President Bellievre*, and my self, met that Night at *Monsieur de Bouillon's* House, where a Motion was made for the Generals of the Army to send a Deputation likewise to the Place of Conference, but it was quash'd; and indeed nothing would

would have been more absurd than such a proceeding, when we were upon the Point of concluding a Treaty with *Spain*, and considering that we told the Envoy, that we had never consented to hold any Conference with the Court, were we not assured, that it was in our Power to break it off at Pleasure, by means of the People.

The Parliament having lately reproach'd both the Generals and Troops with being afraid to venture without the Gates, *M. de Bouillon* seeing the Danger was over, propos'd at this Meeting, for satisfaction of the Citizens, to carry them to a Camp betwixt the *Marne* and *Seine*, where they might be as safe as at *Paris*; the Motion was agreed to without consulting the Parliament, and accordingly, on the 4th of *March*, the Troops march'd out, and the Deputies of Parliament went to *Ruel*.

The Court Party flatter'd themselves, that upon the Marching of the Militia out of *Paris*, the Citizens being left to themselves, would become more tractable, and the President *de Mesmes* made his Boast of what he had said to the Generals, to perswade them to incamp their Army. But *Senneterre*, one of the ablest Men at Court, soon penetrated our Designs and undeceiv'd them. He told the first President and *de Mesmes*, that they were bit, and that they would see it in a little Time. The first President, who was all of a Piece, and never could see two different Things at one View, was so overjoy'd when he heard the Forces were gone out of *Paris*, that he cry'd out, *Now the Coadjutor will have no more mercenary Brawlers at the Parliament-House*; Nor, said the President *de Mesmes*, so many Cut-throats. *Senneterre*, like a wise Man, said to them both, *It is not the Coadjutor's Interest to murder you, but to bring you under. The People would serve his Turn for the first, if he aim'd at it; and the Army is admirably well incamp'd for the latter. If he is not an honest Man, than he is looked upon to be here we are like to have a tedious Civil War.* The Cardinal confess'd that *Senneterre* was in the right; for,

for, on one Hand, the Prince of Conde perceiv'd that our Army, being so advantageously posted as not to be attack'd, would be capable of giving him more trouble, than if they were still within the Walls of the City; and on the other Hand, we began to talk with more Courage in Parliament than usual.

The Afternoon of the 4th of March, gave us a just Occasion to shew it. The Deputies arriving at Rue, understood that Cardinal Mazarin was one of the Commissioners named by the Queen, to assist at the Conference. The Parliament Deputies pretended that they could not confer with a Person actually condemned by Parliament. Monsieur de Tellier told them, in the Name of the Duke of Orleans, that the Queen thought it strange, that they were not contented to treat upon an Equality with their Sovereign; but that they should presume to limit his Authority, by excluding his Deputies. The first President and the Court seeming to be immoveable, we sent Orders to our Deputies not to comply, and to communicate, as a great Secret, to President de Mesmes and Menardeau, both Creatures of the Court, the following Postscript of a Letter, I wrote to Longueville.

P. S. *We have concerted our Measures, and are now capable to speak more to the Purpose than we have been hitherto; and since I finish'd this Letter, I have receiv'd a Piece of News, which obliges me to tell you, that if the Parliament don't behave very prudently, they will certainly be ruin'd.* Upon this, the Deputies were resolv'd to insist for excluding the Cardinal from the Conference; an Article which was so odious to the People, that had we permitted it, we had certainly lost all our Credit with them, and been oblig'd to shut the Gates against our Deputies upon their Return.

When the Court saw that the Deputies desired a Convoy to conduct them home, they found out an Expedient, which was receiv'd with great Joy; viz. to appoint two Deputies on the Part of the Parliament, and two on the Part of the King, to confer at the

Houſe

House of the Duke of Orleans, exclusive of the Cardinal, who was thereupon oblig'd to return to St. Germain with Mortification.

On the 5th of March, *Don Francisco Pisarro*, a second Envoy of the Arch-Duke, arriv'd in Paris, with his, and Count *Fuensaldagne's* Answer to our former Dispatches by *Don Joseph d' Illescas*, and full Powers for a Treaty; Instructions for Monsieur de Bouillon; an obliging Letter from the Arch Duke to the Prince of Conti, and another to my self, from Count *Fuensaldagne*, importing, that the King, his Master, would not take my Word, but would depend upon whatever I promis'd Madame de Bouillon.

The Prince of Conti and Madame de Longueville, prompted by Monsieur de Rochefoucault, were for an Alliance with Spain, in a manner without Restriction. M. d' Elbeuf aim'd at nothing, but getting Money. Monsieur de Beaufort, at the Persuasion of Madame Montbazon, (who was resolv'd to sell him dear to the Spaniards) was very scrupulous to enter into a Treaty with the Enemies of the State; Mareschal de la Mothe, declar'd he could not come to any Resolution till he saw Monsieur de Longueville; and Madame de Longueville, question'd whether her Husband would come into it; and yet these very Persons, but a Fortnight before, unanimously writ to the Arch-Duke, for full Powers to treat with him.

Monsieur de Bouillon, told them: " That he thought
" they were absolutely oblig'd to treat with Spain, con-
" sidering the Advances they had already made to the
" Arch-Duke for that End, and desir'd them to recollect,
" how they had told his Envoy, that they waited only
" for these full Powers and Instructions to treat with
" him: That the Arch-Duke had now sent his full
" Powers in the most obliging Manner, and that more-
" over, he was already got out of *Brussels*, to lead his
" Army himself to their Assistance, without staying for
" their Engagement. He begg'd them to consider,
" that if they took the least Step backwards, after
" such Advances, it might provoke Spain to take such

“ Measures, as would be both contrary to our Secu-
 “ rity, and to our Honour ; that the ill concerted Pro-
 “ ceedings of the Parliament, gave us just Grounds to fear
 “ being left to shift for our selves ; that indeed our
 “ Army was now more useful than it had been before ;
 “ but yet not strong enough to give us Relief, in Pro-
 “ portion to our Necessities, especially if it was not, at
 “ least in the Beginning, supported by a powerful
 “ Force ; and that consequently a Treaty was necessary
 “ to be enter’d into, and concluded with the Arch-Duke,
 “ but not upon any mean Conditions ; that his Envoys
 “ had brought *Carte blanche*, but that we ought to
 “ consider how to fill it up ; that he promis’d us every
 “ Thing ; but tho’ in Treaties, the Strongest may
 “ safely promise to the Weaker what he thinks fit,
 “ ’tis certain he cannot perform every Thing ; and
 “ therefore the Weakest should be very wary.

The Duke added, “ That the *Spaniards*, of all
 “ People, expected honourable Usage at the beginning
 “ of Treaties, and he conjur’d them to leave the Ma-
 “ nagement of the *Spanish* Envoys to himself and the
 “ Coadjutor, who, says he, has declar’d all along, that
 “ he proposes no Advantage either from the present
 “ Troubles, or from an Accommodation, and is there-
 “ fore altogether unexceptionable.

This Discourse was relish’d by all the Company,
 who accordingly engag’d us to compare Notes with
 the Envoys of *Spain*, and make our Report to the
 Prince of *Conti*, and the other Generals.

Monsieur de Bouillon assur’d me, that the *Spaniards*
 would not enter upon *French* Ground, ’till we engag’d
 our selves not to lay down our Arms, but in Conjunction
 with them, *viz.* in a Treaty of a General Peace ; but
 our Difficulty was, how to enter into an Engagement
 of that Nature, at a Time, when we could not be sure
 but that the Parliament might conclude a particular
 Peace the next Moment. Mean time, a Courier came
 in from M. de Turenne, crying, *Good News*, as he enter’d
 into the Court. He brought Letters for Madame and
 Made-

Mademoiselle *de Bouillon*, and my self, by which we were assured, that he and his Army, which was without Dispute the finest at that Time in all *Europe*, had declar'd for us; and that *Erlach*, Governor of *Brisac*, was retired thither with 1000 or 1200 Men, which was all he had been able to debauch; that my dear Friend and Kinsman, the Viscount *de Lamet*, was marching directly to our Assistance with 2000 Horse; and that Monsieur *de Turenne* was to follow on such a Day with the Gros of the Army. You'll be surpriz'd, without doubt, to hear that Monsieur *de Turenne*, General of the King's Troops, one who was never a Party Man, and would never hear talk of Party Intrigues, should now declare against the Court, and do an Action, which, I am sure, * *Balafre*, and Admiral *Coligni*, would not have undertaken without Hesitation. Your Wonder will increase yet more, when I tell you, that the Motive of this surprizing Conduct of his is a Secret to this Day. His Behaviour also, during his Declaration, which he supported but five Days, is equally surprizing and mysterious. This shews, that 'tis possible for some extraordinary Characters to be rais'd above the Malice and Envy of vulgar Souls; for the Merit of any Person inferior to the Marechal's must have been totally eclips'd by such an unaccountable Event.

Upon the Arrival of this Express from *Turenne*, I told M. *de Bouillon*, 'twas my Opinion, " That if the
" Spaniards would engage to advance as far as *Pont-a-*
" *Verre*, and act on this side of it at least, in Concert
" only with us, we should make no scruple of obliging
" our selves not to lay down our Arms till the Conclu-
" sion of a General Peace; provided they keep their

* Henry de Lorain, first of that Name, Duke of Guise, surnamed *Balafre*, because of a Wound he received in the left Cheek, at the Battle of Dormans, the Scar of which he carried to his Grave. He formed the League, and was stabbed at an Assembly of the States of Blois 1588.

“ Promise given to the Parliament, of referring them-
 “ selves to its Arbitration. The true Interest of the
 “ Publick, said I, is a general Peace; that of the Par-
 “ liament, and other Societies, is the Re establishment
 “ of good Orders; and that of your Grace, and o-
 “ thers, with my self, is to contribute to the foremen-
 “ tioned Blessings in such manner, that we may be
 “ esteemed the Authors of them; all other Advantages
 “ are necessarily attach’d to this; and the only Way to
 “ acquire them is, to shew that we don’t value them.
 “ You know, that I have frequently vowed, that I
 “ designed no private Interest from this Affair, and I
 “ will keep my Word to the End. Your Circum-
 “ stances are different from mine; you aim at *Sedan*,
 “ and you are in the Right. *Monfieur de Beaufort*
 “ wants to be Admiral, and I can’t blame him. *Mon-*
 “ *sieur de Longueville* has other Demands; with all
 “ my Heart. The Prince of *Conti* and *Madame de*
 “ *Longueville* would be for the future, independent of
 “ the Prince of *Conde*; that Independency they shall
 “ have. Now, in order to attain to these Ends, the
 “ only Means is, to look another Way, to turn all our
 “ Thoughts to bring about a General Peace, and to
 “ sign to Morrow the most solemn and positive Engage-
 “ ment with the Enemy; and the better to please the
 “ Publick, to insert in the Articles, the Expulsion of
 “ Cardinal *Mazarin*, as their mortal Enemy; to cause
 “ the *Spanish* Forces to come up immediately to *Pont-*
 “ *a-Verre*, and those of *Monfieur de Turenne*, to ad-
 “ vance to *Champaigne*, and to go without any loss of
 “ Time, to propose to the Parliament what *Don Joseph*
 “ *d’ Illescas* had offer’d them already, in relation to a
 “ General Peace; and to dispose them to Vote as we
 “ would have them, which they will not fail to do,
 “ considering the Circumstances we are now in; and
 “ to send Orders to our Deputies at *Ruel*, either to get
 “ the Queen to nominate a Place to confer about a
 “ General Peace, or to return the next Day to their
 “ Seats in Parliament. I am apt to think, that the
 “ Court,

“ Court, seeing to what an Extremity they are reduced,
“ will comply ; than which, what can be more for
“ our Honour ?

“ And if the Court should refuse this Proposition at
“ present, will they not be of another Mind before two
“ Months are at an End ? Will not the Provinces,
“ which are already ballancing, then declare in our
“ Favour ? And is the Army of the Prince of Conde
“ in a Condition to engage that of *Spain* and ours, in
“ Conjunction with that of *Monfieur de Turenne* ?
“ These two last, when joyn'd, will put us above all
“ the Apprehensions from Foreign Forces, which have
“ hitherto made us uneasie ; they will depend much
“ more on us, than we on them ; we shall continue
“ Masters of *Paris* by our own Strength, and the more
“ securely, because the intervening Authority of Par-
“ liament will the more firmly unite us to the People.
“ The Declaration of *Monfieur de Turenne* is the only
“ means to unite *Spain* with the Parliament for our De-
“ fence, which we could not have otherwise as much
“ as hoped for ; it gives us an Opportunity to engage
“ the Parliament, in Concert with whom we cannot
“ act amifs ; and this is the only Moment when such
“ Engagement is both possible and profitable. The
“ first President and *de Mesmes* are now out of the
“ Way, and it will be much easier for us to obtain
“ what we want in Parliament, than if they were
“ present, who, if they execute faithfully what is com-
“ manded in the Arret of Parliament, we shall gain
“ our Point, and unite the Chambers for that great
“ Work of a General Peace. If the Court still re-
“ jects our Proposals, and those of the Deputies, who
“ are for the Court, refuse to follow our Motion, or
“ to share in our Fortune, we shall gain as much
“ in another Respect, we shall keep our selves still
“ attach'd to the Body of the Parliament, from
“ which they will be esteemed Deserters, and we
“ shall have much greater Weight in the House than
“ now.

“ This is my Opinion, which I am willing to sign,
 “ and to offer to the Parliament, if you lay hold of this,
 “ which is the only Juncture. For if Monsieur de
 “ Turenne should alter his Mind before it be done, I
 “ should then oppose this Scheme with as much Warmth
 “ as I now recommend it.

The Duke said in Answer, “ Nothing can have a
 “ more promising Aspect than what you have now pro-
 “ posed, it is very practicable, but equally pernicious
 “ for all private Persons. *Spain* will promise all, but
 “ perform nothing, after we have once promis’d to en-
 “ ter into no Treaty with the Court, but for a General
 “ Peace. This being the only Thing the *Spaniards*
 “ have in View, they will abandon us as soon as they
 “ can obtain it; and if we should urge this great Work
 “ on a sudden, as you would have us, they would in-
 “ fallibly have it in a Fortnight’s time, for *France* would
 “ certainly make it with Precipitation; and I know
 “ the *Spaniards* would be glad to purchase it on any
 “ Terms. This being the Case, in what a Condition
 “ shall we be the next Day after we have made and
 “ procured this General Peace? We should indeed have
 “ the Honour of it; but would this Honour screen us
 “ against the Hatred and Curses of the Court? Would
 “ the House of *Austria* take up Arms again to rescue
 “ you and me from a Prison? You’ll say, perhaps, we
 “ may stipulate some Conditions with *Spain*, which may
 “ secure us from all insults of this kind; but I think I
 “ have obviated this Objection already, when I assure
 “ you, that *Spain* is so press’d with Domestick Necessi-
 “ ties, that she would not stick, for the sake of Peace,
 “ to sacrifice the most solemn Promises made to us; and
 “ this is an Inconveniency, for which I see no Remedy.
 “ If *Spain* should be worse than her Word, with
 “ Respect to the Expulsion of *Mazarin*, what will be-
 “ come of us? And will the Honour of our contribut-
 “ ing to the General Peace, atone for the Preservation
 “ of a Minister, to get rid of whom they took up Arms?
 “ you know how they abhor the Cardinal; and suppose
 “ the Cardinal be excluded from the Ministry, accord-
 ing

ing to Promise, shall we not still be expos'd to the Hatred of the Queen, to the Resentments of the Prince of Conde, and to all the evil Consequences that may be expected from an enrag'd Court, for such an Action? There is no true Glory but what is durable, transitory Honour is meer Smoke: Of this sort is that which we shall acquire by this Peace, if we do not support it by such Establishments as will gain us the Reputation of Wisdom as well as Honesty. I admire your Disinterestedness above all, and esteem it; but I am very well assured, that if mine went the length of yours, you would not approve of it. Your Family is settled; consider mine, and cast your Eyes on the Condition of this Lady, and that of both the Father and Children.

I answer'd: That the Spaniards must needs have great Regard for us, seeing us absolute Masters of Paris, with 8000 Foot and 3000 Horse at its Gates, and the best disciplin'd Troops in the World marching to our Assistance. I did all I could to bring him over to my Opinion; and he strove as much to persuade me to enter into his Measures, viz. to pretend to the Envoys, that we were absolutely resolv'd to act in Concert with them for a General Peace; but to tell them at the same time, that we thought it more proper that the Parliament should likewise be engaged, which, as it would require some time, we might in the mean while amuse the Envoys, by signing a Treaty with them, previous to that carrying on with the Parliament, which, by Consequence, would not tie us up to conclude any thing positively in relation to the General Peace; and yet this, said he, would be a sufficient Motive to cause them to advance with their Army; and that of my Brother will come up at the same time, which will astonish the Court, and incline them to an Accommodation. And forasmuch as in our Treaty with Spain, we leave a back Door open, by the Clause which relates to the Parliament, we shall be sure to make good use of it for the Advantage of the Publick and our selves, in Case of the Court's Non-compliance.

These Considerations, though profoundly Wise, did not convince me; because I thought his Inference was not well-grounded. I saw he might well enough amuse the Envoys; but I could not imagine how he could amuse the Parliament, who were actually treating with the Court by their Deputies sent to *Ruel*, and who would certainly run madly into a Peace, notwithstanding all their late Sallies. I foresaw, that without a public Declaration to restrain the Parliament from going their own Lengths, we should fall again, *if one of our Strings chanced to break*, into the Necessity of courting the Assistance of the People, which I look'd upon as the most dangerous Inconveniency of all.

Monsieur de Bouillon ask'd me what I meant by saying, *If one of our Strings chanced to break?* I replied; *For Example, if Monsieur de Turenne should be dead at this Juncture, or if his Army has revolted, as it had like to have done, by means of Monsieur d'Erlach, pray what would become of us, if we should not engage the Parliament. We should be Tribunes of the People one Day, and the next, Valets de Chambre to Count Fuensaldagne; All with the Parliament, and nothing without them, is the Burden of my Song.*

After several Hours Dispute, neither of us was convinced; and I went away very much perplexed, the rather, because that Monsieur de Bouillon being the great Confident of the Spaniards, I doubted not but he could make their Envoys believe what he pleased.

I was still more puzzled, when I came home and found a Letter from Madame de Lesdiguiers, proposing me extraordinary Advantages in the Queen's Name, viz. the Payment of my Debts, the Grant of certain Abbeyes, and a Nomination to the Dignity of Cardinal. Another Note I found with these Words: *The Declaration of the Army of Germany, has put us all into a Consternation.* I concluded they would not fail to try Experiments with others, as well as my self; and since Monsieur de Bouillon began to think of a back Door, when all things smiled upon us, I guess'd the rest of our Party would not neglect to enter the great Door now
flung

flung open to receive them, by the Declaration of Monsieur *de Turenne*. That which afflicted me most of all was to see that Monsieur *de Bouillon*, was not a Man of that Judgment and Penetration I took him for in this critical and decisive Juncture, when the Question was the Engaging or not Engaging the Parliament. He had urg'd me more than twenty times to do what I now offer'd, and the Reason why I now urg'd what I before rejected, was the Declaration of Monsieur *de Turenne*, his own Brother, which should have made him bolder than me; but instead of this, it slacken'd his Courage, and he flatter'd himself, that Cardinal *Mazarin* would let him have *Sedan*; this was the Center of all his Views, and he preferr'd these petty Advantages to what he might have gain'd by procuring Peace to *Europe*. This false Step made me pass this Judgment upon the Duke, that tho' he was a Person of very great Parts, yet I question'd his Capacity for the mighty Things which he has not done, and of which some Men thought him very capable. *It is the greatest Slur upon a great Man, to neglect the Moment that is decisive to his Reputation, and this Negligence indeed scarce ever happens, but when a Man expects another Moment as favourable to make his Fortune, in which People are commonly deceiv'd both Ways.* The Duke was more nice than wise at this Juncture, which is very often the Case. I found afterwards that the Prince of *Conti* was of his Opinion, and I guess'd, by some Circumstances, that he was engaged in some private Negotiation. Monsieur *d' Elbeuf* was as Meek as a Lamb, and seem'd, as far as he durst, to improve what had been advanced already by Monsieur *de Bouillon*. A Servant of his told me likewise, that he believ'd his Master had made his Peace with the Court. Monsieur *de Beaufort* shew'd by his Behaviour, that Madame *Montbazon* had done what she could to cool his Courage; but his Irresolution did not embarrass me very much, because I knew I had the Ascendant over her, and his Vote added to that of Messieurs *de Brissac, de la Mothe, de Noirmoutier, and Bellievre*, who all fell in

with my Sentiments, had turn'd the Ballance on my side, had not the Regard for Monsieur *de Turenne*, who was now the Life and Soul of the Party, and the *Spaniards* Confidence in Monsieur *de Bouillon*, obliged me to make a Virtue of Necessity. I found both the Arch Duke's Envoy's quite of another Mind; indeed they were still desirous of an Engagement for a general Peace, but they wou'd have it after the Manner of Monsieur *de Bouillon*, viz. at two separate Times, which he had made them believe, would be more for their Advantage; because thereby we shou'd engage the Parliament in it. I saw who was at the Bottom of it, and that considering the Orders they had to follow his Advice in all Things, all I could alledge to the contrary would be of no use. I laid the State of Affairs before the President *de Bellievre*, who was of my Opinion; and that the contrary would infallibly prove our Ruin; judging nevertheless, that a Compliance were highly convenient at this Time; because we depended absolutely on the *Spaniards*, and on Monsieur *de Turenne*, who hitherto made no Motions, but such as were dictated by Monsieur *de Bouillon*.

When I found that all Monsieur *Bellievre* and I said, could not persuade Monsieur *de Bouillon*, I seem'd, in Appearance, to be of his Opinion, and to submit to the Authority of the Prince of *Conti*, our Generalissimo; we agreed to treat with the Arch Duke, upon the Plan of Monsieur *de Bouillon*, i. e. that he should advance his Army as far as *Pont a Veire*, and farther, if the Generals desired it, who, on their Part, would omit nothing to oblige the Parliament to enter into this Treaty, or, rather, to make a new one, for a General Peace; that is to say, to oblige the King to treat upon reasonable Conditions, the Particulars whereof his Catholick Majesty would refer to the Arbitration of the Parliament. Monsieur *de Bouillon* engag'd to have this Treaty *in totidem verbis*, Signed by the *Spanish* Ministers, and did not so much as ask me whether I would sign it or no. All the Company rejoiced to have the *Spaniards* Assistance

ance upon such easie Terms, and to be at full Liberty to receive the Propositions of the Court, which now, upon the Declaration of Monsieur de Turenne, could not fail of being very advantageous.

The Treaty was accordingly sign'd in the Prince of Conti's Chamber, at the Town-House; but I forbore to set my Hand to it, tho' solicited by Monsieur de Bouillon, unless they would come to some final Resolution; yet I gave them my Word, that if the Parliament would be contented, I had such Expedients in my Power, as would give them all the Time necessary to withdraw their Troops. I had two Reasons for what I said; *First*, I knew *Fuensaldagne* to be a wise Man, that he would be of a different Opinion from his Envoys, and that he would never venture his Army into the Heart of the Kingdom with so little Assurance from the Generals, and none at all from me: And, *secondly*, because I was willing to shew to our Generals, that I would not, as far as it lay in my Power, suffer the *Spaniards* to be treacherously surpriz'd or insulted, in Case of an Accommodation between the Court and Parliament; tho' I had protested twenty times in the same Conference, that I would not separate my self from the Parliament.

Monsieur d'Elbeuf said, *You cannot find the Expedients you talk of, but in having Recourse to the People.* Monsieur de Bouillon will answer for me, said I, *that it is not there that I am to fetch my Expedients.* Monsieur de Bouillon being desirous that I should sign, said, I know that it is not your Intent, but I am fully persuaded, that you mean well, that you don't act as you propose, and that we retain more Respect for the Parliament by signing, than you do by refusing to sign; for (speaking very low that he might not be understood by the *Spanish* Ministers) we keep a back Door open to get off handsomely with the Parliament. They will open that Door, said I, when you could wish it shut, as is but too apparent already; and you'll be glad to shut it when you cannot; the Parliament is not a Company to be jested with. After the Signing of the Treaty, I was told, that the Envoys had given 2000 Pistoles to Madame

dame de Monibaxon, and as much to Monsieur d'Elbeuf.

Bellievre, who staid for me at home, whither I return'd full of Vexation, us'd an Expression, which has been since verified by the Event. *We fail'd this Day*, says he, *to engage the Parliament, which if we had done, all had been safe and right. Pray God, that every thing goes well, for if but one of our Strings fails us, we are undone.*

As to the Conferences for a Peace with the Court at *Ruel*, it was propos'd on the Queen's Part, that the Parliament should adjourn their Session to *St. Germain*, just to ratifie the Articles of the Peace, and not to meet afterwards in two or three Years; but the Deputies of Parliament insisted, it was their Privilege to assemble when and where they pleas'd. When these and the like Stories came to the Ears of *the Parisians*, they were so incens'd, that the only Talk of the great Chamber was, to recal the Deputies; and the Generals seeing themselves now respected by the Court, who did not much regard them before the Declaration of Monsieur *de Turenne*, thought that the more the Court was embarrass'd, the more they should find their Account, and therefore incited the Parliament and People to make a Clamour, that the Cardinal might see, that Things did not altogether depend upon the Conference at *Ruel*. I likewise contributed what lay in my Power to moderate the Precipitation of the first President and President *de Mesmes*, towards any Thing that look'd like an Accommodation.

On the 8th of *March*, the Prince of *Conti* acquainted the Parliament, that Monsieur *de Turenne* offer'd them his Services and Person against the Cardinal *Mazarin*, the Enemy of the State. I said, that I was inform'd, a Declaration had been issued out, the Night before, at *St. Germain*, against Monsieur *de Turenne*, as guilty of high Treason. The Parliament pass'd an Arret unanimously to annul it; to authorize his taking Arms; to enjoin all the King's Subjects to give him free Passage and Subsistence; and to raise the necessary Funds for the payment

payment of his Troops, lest the 800000 Livres sent from Court to General *Erlach*, should corrupt the Officers and Soldiers. A bloody Arret was issued against *Courcelles*, *Lavardin*, and *Amilly*, who had levied Troops for the King in the Province of *Main*, and the Commonalty were permitted to meet at the Sound of the Alarm Bell, and to fall foul on all that held Assemblies without Order of Parliament.

The 9th, an Arret was pass'd to suspend the Conference till all the Promises made by the Court, for opening the Passages for Provisions, were punctually executed.

The Prince of *Conti* acquainted the House, the same Day, that he was desired by Monsieur *de Longueville*, to assure them, that he would set out from *Roan* the 15th, with 7000 Foot and 3000 Horse, and march directly to *St. Germain*; the Parliament was incredibly overjoy'd, and desir'd the Prince of *Conti* to press him to hasten his March as much as possible.

On the 10th, the Member for *Normandy* acquainted the House, that the Parliament of *Rennes* only staid for the Duke *de la Tremouille*, to join against the common Enemy.

On the 11th, an Envoy from Monsieur *de Tremouille*, offer'd the Parliament, in his Master's Name, 8000 Foot, and 2000 Horse, who were in a Condition to march in two Days, provided the Company would permit his Master to seize on all the publick Money at the general Receipts of *Poitiers*, *Niorte*, and other Places, whereof he was already Master. The Parliament thank'd him, pass'd an Arret with full Powers accordingly, and desir'd him to hasten his Levies with all Expedition.

Posterity will hardly believe, that notwithstanding all this Heat in the Party, which one would have thought, could not have evaporated presently, a Peace was made and sign'd the same Day; but of this more by and by.

While the Court, as is before hinted, was tampering with the Generals, Madame *de Montbazon* promis'd Monsieur *de Beaufort* to the Queen; but Her Majesty

Majesty understood that 'twas not to be done, if I were not at the Market, to approve the Sale. *La Riviere* no more despis'd Monsieur d' *Elbeuf*. Monsieur de *Bouillon*, since his Brother's Declaration, seem'd more inclin'd to come to an Accommodation with the Court than before; but his Pretensions run very high; and both the Brothers were in such a Situation, that little Matters would not suffice; and as to the Offers made to my self by Madame de *Lesdiguières*, I returned such an Answer, as convinced the Court that I was not so easily to be mov'd.

In short, Cardinal *Mazarin* found all the Avenues to a Negociation either shut, or embarrass'd. This Despair of Success in the Court, was in the Event, more to the Advantage of the Court, than the most refined Politicks; for it did not hinder them from negotiating the Cardinal's natural Temper not permitting him to do otherwise; but however, he could not trust to the Event of Negotiations, and therefore amus'd our Generals with fair Promises, while he remitted 800,000 Livres to buy off the Army of Monsieur de *Turenne*, and while he oblig'd the Deputies at *Ruel*, to sign a Peace against the Orders of the Parliament that sent them. The President de *Mesmes* assured me several times since, that this Peace was the pure Result of a Conversation he had with the Cardinal on the 8th of *March* at Night, when his Eminence told him, he saw plainly, that Monsieur de *Bouillon* would not treat till he had the *Spaniards* and Monsieur de *Turenne* at the Gates of *Paris*; that is, till he saw himself in a Capacity of Seizing one half of the Kingdom. The President made him this Answer, *There's no Hopes of any Security, but in making the Coadjutor a Cardinal.* To which *Mazarin* replied; *He is worse than the other, who at least seemed once inclinable to treat, but he is still for a General Peace, or for none at all.* President de *Mesmes* replied again: "If
 " Things are come to this pass, we must be the Victims
 " to save the State from perishing, we must Sign the
 " Peace: For after what the Parliament has done to
 " Day,

" Day, there is no Remedy, and perhaps to Morrow
" we shall be recalled; if we are disown'd in what we
" do, we are ruin'd, the Gates of *Paris* will be shut
" against us, and we shall be prosecuted and treated as
" Prevaricators and Traytors. 'Tis our Business and
" Concern to procure such Conditions, as will give us
" good Ground to justify our Proceedings; and if the
" Terms are but reasonable, we know how to improve
" them against the Faction; but make them as you
" please your self, I will Sign them all, and will go this
" Moment to acquaint the first President, that this is the
" only Expedient to save the State. If it takes Effect,
" we have Peace; if we are disown'd by the Parlia-
" ment, we still weaken the Faction, and the Danger
" will fall upon none but our selves. He added to me,
that with much ado he persuaded the first President.

The Peace was signed by Cardinal *Mazarin*, as well
as by the other Deputies on the part of the King. The
Substance of the Articles was, That the Parliament
should just go to *St. Germain* to proclaim the Peace, and
then return to *Paris*; but to hold no Assembly that
Year. That all their public Arrets since the 6th of *Ja-*
nuary, should be made void, as likewise all Arrets of
Council, Declarations, and Letters *de Cachet*. That as
soon as the King had drawn his Troops from *Paris*, all
the Forces rais'd for Defence of the City, should be
disbanded; and the Inhabitants should lay down their
Arms, and not take them up again without the King's
Order. That the Arch-Duke's Deputy should be dis-
miss'd without an Answer. That there should be a ge-
neral Amnesty, and the King should also give a general
Discharge for all the Public Money made use of, as also
for the Moveables sold, and for all the Arms and Ammu-
nition taken out of the Arsenal and elsewhere.

Monsieur and Madame *de Bouillon* were extreemly
surpriz'd when they heard the Peace was signed; I did
not expect the Parliament would make it so soon, but I
said frequently, it would be a very shameful one, if we
should let them alone to make it. Monsieur *de Bouillon*
own'd that I had foretold it often enough. I confess,
said

said he, we are entirely to blame. Which Expression made me respect him more than ever; for, *I think it a greater Virtue for a Man to confess a Fault, than not to commit one.* The Prince of Conti, Messieurs d' Elbeuf, de Beaufort, and de la Mothe, were very much surprized too at the Signing of the Peace, especially, because their Agent at St. Germain had assur'd them, that the Court was fully perswaded that the Parliament was but a Cypher, and that the Generals were the Men with whom they must negociate. I confess, Cardinal *Mazarin* acted a very sly Part in this Juncture, and is the more to be commended, because he was oblig'd to defend himself, not only against the monstrous Impertinences of *la Riviere*, but against the violent Passion of the Prince of *Conde*.

We had a Council at the Duke de *Bouillon's*, where I perswaded them, that as our Deputies were recall'd by an Order dispatch'd from Parliament before the Treaty was sign'd, it was therefore void, and that we ought to take no notice of it; the rather, because it had not been communicated to Parliament in Form; and finally, that the Deputies should be charg'd to insist on a General Treaty of Peace, and on the Expulsion of *Mazarin*: and if they did not succeed, to return forthwith to their Seats in Parliament. But I added, that if the Deputies should have Time to return, and make their Report, we should be under a Necessity of Protesting, which would so incense the People against them, that we should not be able to keep them from butchering the first President and the President de *Mesmes*, so that we should be reputed the Authors of the Tragedy; and though formidable one Day, should be every whit as odious the next. I concluded with offering to Sacrifice my Coadjutorship of *Paris* to the Anger of the Queen, and the Hatred of the Cardinal, and That very cheerfully, if they would but come into my Measures.

Monsieur de *Bouillon*, after having opposed my Reasons, concluded thus: I know my Brother's Declaration, and my urging the Necessity of his Advancing with the Army, before we come to a positive Resolution, may give Ground

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Ground to believe, that I have great Views for our Family. I do not deny, but that I hope for some Advantages, and am persuaded it is lawful for me so to do; but I'll be content to forfeit all my Reputation, if I ever accommodate with the Court, till you all say you are satisfied; and if I don't keep my Word, I desire the Coadjutor to disgrace me.

After all, I thought best to submit to the Prince of Conti, and to the Plurality of Voices; and they resolv'd very wisely, not to explain themselves particularly next Morning in Parliament, but only that the Prince of Conti should say, in general, that it being the common Report that the Peace was signed at *Ruel*, he was resolv'd to send Deputies thither, to take care of his, and the other Generals Interests.

The Prince follow'd our Agreement exactly. Mean time, the People rose, at the Report I had given out concerning *Mazarin's* signing the Treaty, which, tho' we had concerted as a necessary Stratagem, I now repented of. This shews, *that a Civil War is one of those complicated Diseases, wherein the Remedy you prescribe for obviating one dangerous Symptom, sometimes inflames three or four others.*

The 13th, the Deputies of *Ruel* entring the Parliament-House, which was in a great Feud, Monsieur d'*Elbeuf*, contrary to the Resolution taken at Monsieur de *Bouillon's*, ask'd the Deputies, whether they had taken care of the Interest of the Generals in the Treaty. The first President was going to make his Report, but was almost stunn'd with the Clamour of the whole Company, crying, *There was no Peace, there was no Peace*; that the Deputies had scandalously deserted the Generals, and all others whom the Parliament had join'd by the Arret of Union; and besides, that they had concluded a Peace after the Revocation of the Powers given them to treat. The Prince of *Conti* said very calmly, that he wonder'd they had concluded a Treaty without the Generals. To which the first President answer'd, That the Generals had always protested to have no separate Interests from that of the Parliament, and it was their own Fault, that they

they had not sent their Deputies. Monsieur de Bouillon said, that since Cardinal *Mazarin* was to continue Prime Minister, he desir'd the Parliament would obtain a Passport for him to retire out of the Kingdom. The first President replied, That his Interest had been taken care of, and that he would have Satisfaction for *Sedan*. But Monsieur de Bouillon told him, that he might as well have said nothing, and that he would never separate from the other Generals. The Clamour redoubled it self with such Fury, that President *de Mesmes* trembled like an Aspen Leaf. Monsieur de Beaufort laying his Hand upon his Sword, said, Gentlemen Deputies, This shall never be drawn for *Mazarin*.

The Presidents *de Coigneux* and *de Bellicure* proposed that the Deputies might be sent back to treat about the Interests of the Generals, and to reform the Articles which the Parliament did not like; but they were soon silenced by a sudden Noise in the great Hall, and the Usher came in trembling, and said, that the People call'd for Monsieur de Beaufort. He went out immediately, and hush'd them for the present; but no sooner was he got in than the Disturbance began afresh; and an infinite Number of People, arm'd with Poinards, call'd out for the Original Treaty, that they might have *Mazarin's* Sign Manual burnt by the Hangman; adding, that if the Deputies had signed the Peace of their own accord, they ought to be hang'd; and if against their Will, they ought to be disown'd. They were told, that the Sign Manual of the Cardinal could not be burnt, without burning at the same time that of the Duke of *Orleans's*, but that they were going to send the Deputies back again, to get the Articles amended. The People still cry'd out, *No Peace, no Mazarin, you must go, we'll have our good King fetch'd from St. Germain's and all Mazarins thrown into the River.*

The People were ready to break open the great Door of the House; yet the first President was so far from being terrify'd, that when he was advis'd to pass through the Registry into his own House, that he might not be seen; He replied, If I was sure to perish, I would never
be

be guilty of so much Cowardice, which would only serve to make the Mob more insolent, who would be ready to come to my House, if they thought I was afraid of them here. And when I begg'd him not to expose himself, till I had pacifi'd the People, he pass'd it off with a Joke; by which I found he took me for the Author of the Disturbance, tho' very unjustly. However, I did not resent it, but went into the great Hall, and mounting the Solicitors Bench, wav'd my Hands to the People, who thereupon cry'd Silence. I said all I could think of to make them easie: They ask'd, if I would promise that the Peace at *Ruel* should not be kept. I answer'd, yes, provided the People would be quiet; for otherwise their best Friends would be oblig'd to take other Methods to prevent the like Disturbances. I acted, in a quarter of an Hour, above thirty different Parts: I threaten'd, I commanded, I intreated them. And finding I was sure of a Calm, at least for a Moment, I returned to the House, and embracing the first President, put him before me, Monsieur *de Beaufort* did the same with President *de Mesmes*, and thus we went out, with the Parliament, all in a Body, the Beadles marching before us. The People made a great Noise, and we heard some crying, *A Republick*; but no Injury was offer'd to us, only Monsieur *de Bouillon* receiv'd a Blow in his Face by a Raggamuffin, who took him for Cardinal *Mazarin*.

On the 16th, the Deputies were sent again to *Ruel* by the Parliament, to amend some of the Articles, particularly those for adjourning the Parliament to *St. Germain*, and prohibiting their future Assemblies; with an Order to take care of the Interest of the Generals, and of the Companies, join'd by the Arret of Union.

The late Disturbances oblig'd the Parliament to post the City Train'd Bands at their Gates, who were even more enrag'd against the *Mazarin* Peace, as they call'd it, than the Mob, and far less dreaded; because they consisted of Citizens, who were not for Plunder; yet this Select Militia was ten times a going to insult the Parliament, and did actually insult the Councillors and Presidents,

Presidents, threatening to throw the President *de Thore* into the River; and when the first President and his Friends saw that they were aw'd from putting their Threats in Execution, they took an Advantage of us, and had the Boldness even to reproach the Generals, as if the Troops had not done their Duty; tho' if the Generals had but spoke loud enough to be heard by the People, they would not have been able to hinder them from pulling the Members to pieces.

The Duke *de Bouillon* came to the Town-House, and made a Speech there to the Prince of *Conti* and the other Generals, in Substance as follows: "I could never have believed, what I now see of the Parliament, on the 13th they would not hear the Peace of *Ruel* mentioned; but on the 15th they approve of it, some few Articles excepted; on the 16th, they dispatch the same Deputies who had concluded a Peace against their Orders, with full and unlimited Powers; and not contented with all this, they load us with Reproaches, because we complain they have treated of a Peace without us, and have abandoned Monsieur *de Longueville*, and Monsieur *de Turenne*; and yet 'tis owing only to us, that the People don't Massacre them. We must save their Lives at the Hazard of our own; and I own 'tis Wisdom so to do; but we shall all of us certainly perish with the Parliament, if we let them go on at this rate. Then addressing himself to the Prince of *Conti*, he said, "I am for closing with the Coadjutor's late Advice at my House, which if your Highness does not put in Execution before two Days are at an end, we shall have a Peace less secure, and more scandalous than the former.

The Company came unanimously into his Opinion, and resolv'd to meet next Day at Monsieur *de Bouillon's*, to consider of bringing the Affair into Parliament. Mean time *Don Gabriel de Toledo* arriv'd with the Arch-Duke's Ratification of the Treaty sign'd by the Generals, and with a Present from his Master of 10000 Pistoles; but I was resolv'd to let the *Spaniards* see that I was not for taking their Money, tho' at his Request, Madame *de*

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Bouillon did all she could to persuade me. Accordingly I declin'd it with all possible Respect; nevertheless, this Denial cost me dear afterwards, because I contracted a Habit of refusing Presents at other times, when it had been good Policy to have accepted them, tho' I had thrown them into the River. 'Tis sometimes very dangerous to refuse Presents from one's Superiors.

While we were in Conference at Monsieur de *Bouillon's* the sad News was brought us that Monsieur de *Turenne's* Forces, all except two or three Regiments, had been brib'd with Money from Court, to abandon him; and that finding himself like to be Arrested, he was retired to his Friend and Kinswoman, the Landgravine of * *Hesse*. Monsieur de *Bouillon* was, as it were, Thunder-struck; his Lady burst out into Tears, saying, *We are all undone*; and I was almost as much cast down as they were, because it overturn'd our last Scheme.

M. de *Bouillon* was now for pushing Matters to an Extremity; but I convinc'd him, that there was nothing more dangerous.

Don *Gabriel de Toledo*, who was order'd to be very frank with me, was upon the Reserve, after he saw how I was mortify'd about the News of Monsieur de *Turenne*, and caball'd with the Generals in such a manner as made me very uneasy. Upon this sudden Turn of Affairs, I made these Remarks, *That every Company has so much in it of the unstable Temper of the Vulgar, that all depends upon joining Issue with Opportunity, and that the best Proposals prove often fading Flowers, which are fragrant to Day, and stink to Morrow.*

I could not sleep that Night for thinking on our Circumstances. I saw that the Parliament was less inclin'd than ever to engage in a War, by reason of the Desertion

* *Amelia Elizabeth, Lady of William, Landgrave of Hessen Cassel. She was first Cousin to Monsieur de Turenne, being Granddaughter of Charlet de Bourbon, Wife to William Ist. Prince of Orange, Grandmother to Monsieur de Turenne.*

of the Army of *M. de Turenne*; I saw the Deputies at *Ruel* emboldened, by the Success of their Prevarication I saw the People of *Paris* as ready to admit the Arch-Duke, as ever they could be to receive the Duke of *Orleans*; I saw that in a Week's time, this Prince with Beads in his Hand, and *Fuensaldagne* with his Money, would have greater Power than our selves; that Monsieur *de Bouillon* was relapsing into his former Proposal of using Extremities; and that the other Generals would be precipitated into the same violent Measures, by the scornful Behaviour of the Court, now despising all, because sure of the Parliament. I saw all these Circumstances prepared the Way for a popular Sedition to massacre the Parliament, and put the *Spaniards* in Possession of the *Louvre*, which might overturn the State.

These gloomy Thoughts I resolv'd to communicate to my Father, who had for the last twenty Years been retir'd to the Oratory, and would never hear of my State Intrigues. My Father told me of some advantageous Offers made to me, underhand, by the Court, but advis'd me not to trust them.

Next Day, Monsieur *de Bouillon* was for shutting the Gates against the Deputies of *Ruel*; for expelling the Parliament; for making our selves Masters of the Town-Hall, and bringing the *Spanish* Army, without delay, into our Suburbs. As for *M. de Beaufort*, *Du Gabriel de Toledo* told me, that he offer'd Madame *de Montbazon* 20000 Crowns down, and 6000 *per Ann.* if she could persuade him into the Arch-Duke's Measures. He did not forget the other Generals. Monsieur *d'Elbeuf* was gain'd at an easie Rate, and Marechal *de la Mothe* was buoy'd up with the Hopes of being accommodated with the Dutchy of *Cardonne*. I soon saw the Catholicon of *Spain* (*Spanish Gold*) was the chief Ingredient. Every Body saw that our only Remedy was, to make our selves Masters of the Town-House, by means of the People; but I oppos'd it, with Arguments too tedious to mention. *M. de Bouillon* was for engaging entirely with *Spain*; but I convinc'd the Marechal *de la Mothe*, and *M. de Beaufort*, that such Measures would

in a fortnight reduce them to a precarious Dependance on the Counsels of *Spain*.

Being press'd to give my Opinion in short, I deliver'd it thus: "We can't hinder the Peace without
"ruining the Parliament by the Help of the People;
"but we can't maintain the War by the means of the
"same People, without a Dependance upon *Spain*.
"We can't have any Peace with *St. Germain*, but
"by consenting to continue *Mazarin* in the Ministry." Monsieur *de Bouillon* with the Phyz of an Ox, and the Penetration of an Eagle, interrupted me thus: "I take
"you, Sir, said he, you are for suffering the Peace to
"come to a Conclusion, but not for appearing in it." I reply'd, "I was willing to oppose it; but it should
"be only with my own, and the Voices of those who
"were ready to run the same Hazard with me. I understand you again, reply'd Monsieur *de Bouillon*, a
"very fine Thought indeed, suitable to your self, and
"to Monsieur *de Beaufort*, but to no Body else. "If
"it suited us only, said I, before I would propose it,
"I would cut out my Tongue. The Part we act,
"would suit you as well as either of us both, because
"you may accommodate Matters when you think it for
"your Interest. For my Part, I am fully perswaded, that
"they who insist upon the Exclusion of *Mazarin*, as
"a Condition of the intended Accommodation, will
"continue Masters of the Affections of the People
"long enough to make their Advantage of an Opportunity, which Fortune never fails to furnish in cloudy
"and unsettled Times. Pray, Sir, considering your
"Reputation and Capacity, who can pretend to act
"this Part with more Dignity than your self? Monsieur *de Beaufort* and I, are already the Darlings of
"the People; and if you declare for the Exclusion of
"the Cardinal, you will be to Morrow as popular as
"either of us; and we shall be look'd upon as the
"only Center of their Hopes; all the Blunders of the
"Ministers will turn to our Advantage, the *Spaniards*
"will caress us, and the Cardinal, considering how
"fond he is of a Treaty, will be under a Necessity to
"court

" court us. I own this Scheme may be attended with
 " Inconveniencies ; but, on the other Side of the Ques-
 " tion, we are sure of certain Ruin, if we have a Peace,
 " and an enrag'd Minister at the Helm, who cannot
 " hope for Re-establishment but upon our Destruction.
 " Therefore I can't but think the Expedient is as pro-
 " per for you to engage in as me ; but if, for Argu-
 " ment sake, it were not, I am sure it is for your In-
 " terest that I should embrace it, for you'll by that
 " means have more time to make your own Terms
 " with the Court, before the Peace is concluded ; and
 " after the Peace, *Mazarin* will hereby be oblig'd to
 " have more Regard for all those Gentlemen, whose
 " Reunion with me it will be his Interest to pre-
 " vent."

In fine, *Monsieur de Bouillon* was so convinc'd of
 the Justice of my Reasoning, that he told me, when we
 were by our selves, that he had, as well as my self,
 thought of my Expedient, as soon as he receiv'd the
 News of the Army deserting *Monsieur de Turenne* ; that
 he could still improve it so far, as the *Spaniards* would
 not fail to relish it ; and that he was going several Times
 one Day to confer about it with me ; but that his Wife
 had conjur'd him with Prayers and Tears, to speak
 no more of the Matter, but to accommodate my Affairs
 with the Court, or else to engage my self with the
Spaniards. I know, said he, you are not for the se-
 cond, pray lend me your good Offices to make the best
 Advantage of the first. I assur'd him, that all my best
 Offices and Interest was entirely at his Service, to faci-
 litate his Accommodation with the Court, and that he
 might freely make use of my Name and Reputation
 for that purpose.

In fine, we agreed in every Punctilio. *Monsieur de
 Bouillon* undertook to make the Proposition palatable
 to the *Spaniards*, provided we would promise never to
 let them know, that it was concerted among our selves
 beforehand, and we question'd not but we could dispose
Monsieur de Longueville to accept of it ; *For Men of
 Irresolution are apt to catch at all Overtures which*
lead

lead them two Ways, and consequently press them to no Choice.

I had almost forgot to tell you what Monsieur de Bouillon said to me in private, as we were going from the Conference: " I am sure, says he, you will not blame me, for not exposing a Wife, whom I dearly love, and eight Children, whom she loves more than her self, to the Hazards which you run, and which I could run with you, if I was a single Man.

I was very much affected with the tender Sentiments of Monsieur de Bouillon, and the Confidence he plac'd in me; and assur'd him I was so far from blaming him, that I esteem'd him the more, and that his Tenderness for his Lady, which he was pleas'd to call his Weakness, was what indeed Politicks condemn'd, but Ethicks highly justified, because one betoken'd an honest Heart, which is much superior both to Interest and Politicks. M. de Bouillon communicated the Proposal both to the Spanish Envoys and to the Generals, who were easily persuaded to relish it.

Thus he made, as it were, a golden Bridge for the Spaniards to withdraw their Troops with Decency. I told him, as soon as they were gone, that he was an excellent Man to persuade People *that a Quartan Ague was good for them.*

The Parliaments Deputies repairing to St. Germain on the 17th of March, 1649, first took care to settle the Interests of the Generals, upon which, every Officer of the Army thought he had a Right to exhibit his Pretensions. Monsieur de Vendosme sent his Son a formal Curse, if he did not procure for him at least the Superintendency of the Seas; a Post which was created first in favour of Cardinal de Richelieu, instead of High Admiral; but Lewis XIV. suppress'd it, and restored that of High Admiral in its place.

Upon this we held a Conference, the Result of which was, that on the 20th, the Prince of Conti acquainted the Parliament, that himself and the other Generals had not deliver'd in their Pretensions, but because they were necessitated to provide for their safety, in case Ma-

zarin should continue in the Ministry; and that he protested both for himself, and for all the Gentlemen engaged in the same Party, that they would immediately renounce all their Pretensions whatsoever, upon the Exclusion of Cardinal *Mazarin*.

We also prevail'd on the Prince of *Conti*, tho' almost against his Will, to move the Parliament to direct their Deputies to join with the Count *de Maure*, for the Expulsion of Cardinal *Mazarin*. I had almost lost all my Credit with the People, because I hindred them, on the 13th of *March*, from massacring the Parliament; and because, on the 23d, and 24th, I oppos'd the publick Sale of the Cardinal's Library. But I re-establish'd my Reputation in the great Hall among the Crowd, in the Opinion of the Hot-heads of the Parliament, by Haranguing against the Count *de Grancei*, who had the Insolence to pillage the House of Monsieur *Coulon*; by insisting, on the 24th, that the Prince of *Harcourt* should be allow'd to seize all the publick Money in the Province of *Picardy*; by raving, on the 25th, against a Truce, which 'twould have been ridiculous to refuse in the Time of a Conference; and by opposing on the 30th, what was transacted there, tho' I knew at the same time, that the Peace was made. I return to the Conference at *St. Germain*.

The Court declared, they would never consent to the Removal of the Cardinal; and that as to the Pretensions of the Generals, which were either to Justice or Favour; those of Justice, should be confirmed; and those of Favour, at his Majesty's Disposal to reward Merit. They declared their willingness to accept of the Arch-Duke's Proposal for a General Peace.

An Amnesty was granted in the most Ample manner, comprehending expressly the Prince of *Conti*, Messieurs *de Longueville*, *de Beaufort*, *de Harcourt*, *de Rieux*, *de Lillebonne*, *de Bouillon*, *de Turenne*, *de Brissac*, *de Duras*, *de Matignon*, *de Beuron*, *de Noirmoutier*, *de Servigni*, *de Tremouille*, *de la Rochefoucaut*, *de Retz*, *d'Estissac*, *de Montresor*, *de Matta*, *de St. Germain*, *d'Apchon*, *de Sauvebeuf*, *de St. Ibal*, *de Lauret-at*, *de Laigues*, *de Chavagnac*, *de Chaumont*, *de Caumesnil*, *de Cugnac*,
de

de Cues, d'Allici, and de Barriere; but I was left out, which contributed to preserve my Reputation with the Publick, more than you would expect from such a Trifle.

On the 31st, the Deputies being return'd, made their Report to the Parliament, who, on the first of *April*, verified the Declaration of Peace.

As I went to the Parliament, I found the Streets crowded with People, crying, *No Peace, no Mazarin*; but I dispers'd them, by telling them, that 'was one of *Mazarin's* Stratagems to separate the People from the Parliament, who, without doubt, had Reasons for what they had done; that they should be cautious of falling into the Snare; that they had no cause to fear *Mazarin*; and that they might depend on't, I would never agree with him. When I came to the Parliament, I found the Guards as hot as the People, and that they were for murdering all they knew to be of *Mazarin's* Party; but I pacify'd them, as I had done the others. The first President seeing me coming in, said, that *I had been Consecrating Oil, mixt undoubtedly with Salt-Peter*. I heard the Words, but made as if I did not; for had I taken him up upon it, and had the People known it in the great Hall, it had not been in my Power to save one single Member alive.

Soon after the Peace, the Prince of *Conti*, Madame de *Longueville*, and M. de *Bouillon*, went to St. *Germain*s to the Court, who had by some Means or other gain'd M. d' *Elbeuf*. But Messieurs de *Brissac, de Retz, de Vitri, de Fiesque, de Fontrailles, de Montresor, de Noirmoutier, de Matta, de la Boulaie, de Caumefnil, de Moreul, de Laigues*, and d' *Annery*, remain'd in a Body with us, which was not contemptible, considering the People were of our side; but the Cardinal despis'd us to that degree, that when Messieurs de *Beaufort, de Brissac, de la Mothe*, and my self, desired one of our Friends to assure the Queen of our most humble Obedience; she answer'd, that she should not regard our Assurances till we had paid our Devoirs to the Cardinal.

Madame *de Chevreuse* being come from *Brussels* without the Queen's leave, Her Majesty sent her Orders to quit *Paris* in 24 Hours; upon which, I went to her House, and found the lovely Creature at her Toilet, bath'd in Tears. My Heart earn'd towards her, but I bid her not obey till I had the Honour of seeing her again. I consulted with M. *de Beaufort*, how to get the Order revok'd; upon which he said, *I see you are against her going, she shall stay. She has very fine Eyes.*

I return'd to the Palace of *Chevreuse*, where I was made very welcome, and found the lovely Mademoiselle *Chevreuse*. I got a very intimate Acquaintance with Madame *de Rhodes*, natural Daughter to Cardinal *de Guise*, who was her great Confident. I entirely demolished the good Opinion she had of the Duke of *Brunswick Zell*, with whom she had almost struck a Bargain. *Laignes* hindred me at first, but the forwardness of the Daughter, and the easiness of the Mother, soon removed all Obstacles. I saw her every Day at her own House, and very often at Madame *de Rhodes*, who allow'd us all the Liberty we could wish for, and we did not fail to make good use of our Time. I did love her, or rather, I thought I lov'd her, for I still had to do with Madame *de Pomereux*.

Fronde, i. e. Slings, being the Name given to the Faction, I shall give you the Etymology of it, which I omitted in the first Book.

When the Parliament met upon State Affairs, the Duke of *Orleans* and the Prince of *Conde* came very frequently, and qualified the Heats of the Contending Parties; but this Calm was not lasting, for every other Day their Fury return'd upon them.

Buchoumont happen'd to say, in a Jest, that the Parliament acted like the School-boys in the Ditches of *Paris*, who sling Stones, and run away when they see the Beadle, but meet again as soon as he turns his Back. This was thought a very pretty Comparison. It came to be a Subject for Ballads, and upon the Peace between the King and Parliament, it reviv'd, and was apply'd to those who were not accommodated with the Court; and we

studied

studied to give it all possible Currency, because we observ'd it augmented the Heat of the People. We therefore resolv'd that Night to wear Hatbands made in the Figure of a Sling, and had a great Quantity of them made ready, to be distributed among a Parcel of blunt Fellows, and we wore them our selves last of all; for it would have look'd like much Affectation, and have spoil'd all, had we been the first in the Mode. It is inexpressible what Influence this Trifle had upon the People, their Bread, Hats, Gloves, Handkerchiefs, Fans, Garnitures, were *a-la-mode de Fronde*, and we our selves were more in the Fashion by this Toy, than in reality. And the Truth is, we had need of all our Shifts, to support us against the whole Royal Family. For altho' I had spoke to the Prince of *Conde* at *Madame de Longueville's*, I could not suppose my self thoroughly reconciled. He treated me indeed civilly, but with an Air of Coldness, and I know that he was fully persuaded that I had complain'd of his Breach of a Promise which he made by me to some Members of Parliament; but as I had complain'd to no Body upon this Head, I begun to suspect some Persons studied to set us at variance; I imagin'd it came from the Prince of *Conti*, who was naturally very malicious, and hated me, he knew not why. *Madame de Longueville* lov'd me no better. I always suspected *Madame de Montbazon*, who had not near so much influence over *Monfieur de Beaufort* as I had, yet was too artful in Robbing him of all his Secrets. She did not love me neither, because I depriv'd her of what might have made her most Considerable at Court.

Count *Fuensaldagne* was not oblig'd to help me if he could. He was not pleas'd with the Conduct of *Monfieur de Bouillon*, who, in Truth, had neglected the decisive Point for a General Peace, and he was much less satisfied with his own Ministers, whom he used to call, his blind Moles; but he was pleas'd with me, for insisting always on the Peace between the two Crowns, without any View to a separate one. He therefore sent me *D. Antonio Pimentel*, to offer me any thing that was in the Power of the King, his Master, and to tell me, that

as I could not but want Assistance, considering how I stood with the Ministry, a hundred Thousand Crowns was at my Service; which was accordingly brought me in Bills of Exchange. That he did not desire any Engagement of me for it. Nor did the King, his Master, propose any other Advantage, than the Pleasure of Protecting me. But I thought fit to refuse the Money for the present, telling *D. Antonio*, that I should think myself unworthy of the Protection of his Catholick Majesty, if I took any Gratuity while I was in no Capacity of serving him. That I was born a *Frenchman*, and by virtue of my Post, more particularly attached than another, to the Metropolis of the Kingdom. That it was my Misfortune to be embroil'd with the prime Minister of my King; but that my Resentment should never carry me to solicit Assistances among his Enemies, till I was forc'd for self-preservation. That the Divine Providence had cast my Lot in *Paris*, where God, who knew the Purity of my Intentions, would enable me, in all probability, to maintain my self by my own Interest. But in Case I wanted Protection, I was fully persuaded I could no where find any so powerful and glorious as that of his Catholick Majesty, to which I would always think it an Honour to have recourse. *Fuensaldagne* was satisfied with my Answer, and sent back *Don Antonio Pimentel*, with a Letter from the Arch-Duke, assuring me, that upon a Line from my Hand, he would march with all the Forces of the King his Master to my Assistance.





MEMOIRS

OF THE

Cardinal *De RETZ*, &c.

BOOK III.

MADAME,

Cardinal *Mazarin*, thought of nothing else now, but how to rid himself of the Obligations he lay under to the Prince of *Conde*, who had actually saved him from the Gallows. And his principal View was, an Alliance with the House of *Vendosme*, who had, on some Occasions, opposed the Interest of the Family of *Conde*.

In *Paris*, the People libell'd not only the Cardinal but the Queen. Indeed it was not our Interest to discourage Libels and Ballads against the Cardinal; but it concerned us to suppress such as were levell'd against the Queen and Government. 'Tis not to be imagin'd

what Uneasiness the Warmth of the People gave us upon that Head. Two Criminals being condemn'd to be hang'd for publishing some Things fit to be burnt, one of whom was a Printer, for Libelling the Queen, when they were upon the Ladders, they cry'd out, They were to be put to Death for publishing Verses against *Mazarin*; upon which the People rescued them from Justice.

On the other Hand, some gay young Gentlemen of the Court, who were in *Mazarin's* Interest, had a Mind to make his Name familiar to the *Parisians*, and for that End, made a shining Figure in the publick Walks of the *Tuilleries*, where they had grand Suppers with Musick, and drank the Cardinal's Health publickly. We took little Notice of it, till they boasted at St. *Germain* that the *Frondeurs* were glad to give them the Wall. And then we thought it high Time to correct them, lest the common People should think they did it by Authority. For this End, Monsieur *de Beaufort* and a Hundred other Gentlemen, went one Night to the House where they supp'd, overturn'd the Table, and broke the Musicians Violins over their Heads.

Being inform'd that the Prince of *Conde* intended to oblige the King to return to *Paris*, I was resolv'd to have all the Merit of an Action which would be so acceptable to the Citizens. I therefore resolv'd to go to the Court at *Compeigne*, which my Friends very much oppos'd, for fear of the Danger to which I might be expos'd; but I told them, that what is *absolutely necessary is not dangerous*.

I went accordingly, and as I was going up Stairs to the Queen's Apartments, a Man, whom I never saw before or since, put a Note in my Hand, with these Words, *If you enter the King's Lodgings, you are a dead Man*; but I was got in already, and 'twas too late to go back. Being past the Guard Chamber, I thought my self secure. I told the Queen, that I was come to assure Her Majesty of my most humble Obedience, and of the Disposition the Church of *Paris* was in to perform all the Services she ow'd to their Majesties.

The

The Queen seem'd highly pleased, and was very kind to me ; but when we mention'd the Cardinal, tho' she urg'd me to it, I excus'd my self from going to see him, with assuring Her Majesty, that such a Visit would put me out of Capacity of doing her Service. It was impossible for Her to contain Herself any longer, she blush'd, and 'twas with much ado that she forbore giving me harsh Language, as she herself confessed afterwards.

Servien said one Day, that there was a Design to assassinate me at his Table, by the Abbot *Fouquet* ; and *Monsieur de Vendosme*, who was just come from his Table, press'd me to be gone, saying, that there were wicked Designs hatching against me.

I returned to *Paris*, having accomplished every thing I wanted ; for I removed the Suspicion of the Court, that the *Frondeurs* were against the King's Return. I threw upon the Cardinal all the Odium attending his Majesty's Delay. I brav'd *Mazarin*, as it were, upon his Throne, and secured to my self the chief Honour of the King's Return.

The Court was receiv'd at *Paris* as Kings always were, and ever will be ; namely, with Acclamations, which only please such as Love to be flatter'd. A Parcel of old Women were posted at the Entrance of the Suburbs, to cry out, *God save his Eminence*, who sat in the King's Coach, and thought himself Lord of *Paris* ; but at the End of three or four Days found himself much mistaken. Ballads and Libels still flew about. The *Frondeurs* appear'd bolder than ever. *Monsieur de Beaufort* and I rode sometimes alone, with one Lacquey only behind our Coach, and at other Times we went with a Retinue of fifty Men in Livery, and a Hundred Gentlemen. We diversify'd the Scene as we thought it would be most acceptable to the Spectators. The Court Party, who blam'd us from Morning to Night, did nevertheless imitate us in their Way : Every Body took an Advantage of the Ministry from our continual pelting of his Eminence. *Monsieur the Prince*, who always made too much or too little of the Car-

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dinal,

dinal, continued to treat him contemptibly ; and being disgusted for being refused the Superintendence of the Seas, the Cardinal endeavour'd to sooth him with the vain Hopes of other Advantages.

The Prince being one Day at Court, and seeing the Cardinal give himself extraordinary Airs, said, as he was going out of the Queen's Cabinet, *Adieu Mars*. This was told over all the City in a Quarter of an Hour. I and *Noirmoutier* went by his Appointment to his House at 4 o' Clock in the Morning, when he seem'd to be at a great Nonplus : He said, that he could not determine to begin a Civil War, which, tho' the only Means to separate the Queen from the Cardinal, to whom she was so strongly attach'd, yet 'twas both against his Conscience and Honour. He added, that he should never forget his Obligations to us ; and that if he should come to any Terms with the Court, he would, if we thought proper, accommodate our Affairs also ; and that if we had not a Mind to be reconciled to the Court, he would, in case it did attack us, publicly undertake our Protection. We answered, that we had no other Design in our Proposals, than the Honour of being his humble Servants ; and that we should be very sorry if he had retarded his Reconciliation with the Queen upon our Account, praying that we might be permitted to continue with the same Disposition towards the Cardinal as we were then in, which we declar'd should not hinder us from paying all the Respect and Duty which we profess'd for his Highness.

I can't forget to acquaint you, that *Madame de Guimene*, who run away from *Paris* in a Fright, the Moment it was besieged, no sooner heard that I had paid a Visit to the Lady *Chevreuse*, but she returned to Town in a Rage. I was in such a Passion with her for having cowardly deserted me, that I took her by the Throat ; and she was so enrag'd at my familiarity with *Mademoiselle de Chevreuse*, that she threw a Candlestick at my Head ; but in a Quarter of an Hour we were very good Friends.

The Prince of Conde was no sooner reconciled with the Court, but he was publicly reproach'd in the City for breaking his Word with the *Frondeurs*; but I convinc'd him that he could not think such Treatment strange in a City so justly exasperated against *Mazarin*, and that nevertheless, he might depend on my best Services, for which he assur'd me of his constant Friendship.

Moissans, now Marechal d' *Albret*, who was at the Head of the King's *Gens d' Armes*, did accustom himself and others to threaten the chief Minister, who augmented the publick Odium against himself, by re-establishing *Emery*, a Man detested by all the Kingdom. We were not a little alarm'd at this re-establishment, because this Man, who knew *Paris* better than the Cardinal, distributed Money among the People to very good Purpose. *This is a singular Science, which proves either very Advantageous or hurtful in its Consequences, according to the Wisdom or Folly of the Distributer.*

These Donatives, laid out with Discretion and Secrecy, oblig'd us to incorporate our-selves more and more into the Bulk of the People; and finding a fit Opportunity for this Performance, we took care not to let it slip, which, if they had been ruled by me, we had not done so soon, for we were not yet forced to make use of such Expedients. *It is not safe in a Faction, where you are only upon the Defensive, to do what you are not press'd to do; but the Uneasiness of the Subalterns on such Occasions is troublesome, because they believe that as soon as you seem to be inactive, all is lost.* I preached every Day, that the Way was yet rough, and therefore must be made more plain, and that Patience in the present Case, was productive of greater Effects than Activity; but no Body comprehended the Truth of what I said.

An unlucky Expression, dropt on this Occasion by the Princess de *Guimene*, had an incredible Influence upon the People: She called to Mind a Ballad formerly made upon the Regiment of *Bruton*, which was said to consist of two Dragoons only; and four Drummers; and in

as much as she hated the *Fronde*, she told me very pleasantly, that our Party being reduced to fourteen, might be justly compared to that Regiment of *Brulon*. *Noirmoutier* and *Laigues* were offended at this Expression to that Degree, that they continually murmur'd, because I neither accommodated Affairs, nor push'd them to the last Extremity. Upon which I observ'd, that *Heads of Factions are no longer their Masters, than they are either able to prevent, or allay the Murmurs of the People.*

The Revenues of the Town-House, which are as it were the Patrimony of the middling Sort of People, and which, if well managed, might be of special Service to the King, in securing to his Interest an infinite Number of those People, who are always the most formidable in Revolutions; this sacred Fund, I say, suffered much by the Licentiousness of the Times, the Ignorance of *Mazarin*, and the Prevarication of the Officers of the Town-House, who were his Dependents; so that the poor Annuitants met in great Numbers at the Town-House; but as such Assemblies, without the Prince's Authority, are reckoned illegal, the Parliament pass'd an Arret to suppress them. They were privately countenanced by *Monseigneur de Beaufort* and me, to whom they sent a solemn Deputation, and they made Choice of 12 Syndics, to be a Check upon the Provost *des Marchands*.

On the 11th of December, a Pistol, as it had been concerted beforehand, was fired into the Coach of *Joli*, one of the Syndics, which President *Charton*, another of the Syndics, thinking was aim'd at himself, the Marquis *de la Boulaie* ran as if the Devil had been in him, while the Parliament was sitting, into the Middle of the great Hall, with fifteen or twenty sorry Fellows, crying out, *To Arms*. He did the like in the Streets, but in vain; and went to *Broussel*, and me; but the former reprimanded him after his Way, and I threatned to throw him out at the Window; for I had reason to believe, he acted in Concert with the Cardinal, tho' he pretended to be a *Frondeur*.

The

The Artifice of *Servien* united Monsieur the Prince to the Cardinal, because he found himself obliged to defend himself against the *Frondeurs*, who, as he believed, sought to assassinate him. All those that were his own Creatures, thought they were not zealous enough for his Service, if they did not exaggerate the imminent Danger he had escaped, and the Court Parasites confounded the Morning Adventure with this at Night. And upon this course Canvass, they daubed all that the basest Flattery, blackest Imposture, and the most ridiculous Credulity, was capable of imagining. And we were informed the next Morning, that 'twas the common Rumour over all the City, that we had form'd a Design of seizing the King's Person, and carrying him to the Town-House, and to assassinate Monsieur the Prince.

Monsieur *de Beaufort*, and I, agreed to go out and shew our selves to the People, whom we found in such a Consternation, that I believe the Court might then have attack'd us with Success. Madame *de Montbazou* advised us to take Post-Horses and ride off, saying, that there was nothing more easie than to destroy us, because we had put our selves into the Hands of our sworn Enemies. I said, that we had better hazard our Lives than our Honour. To which she replied: " 'Tis not that, but your Nymphs, I believe, which keep you here; (meaning Madames *de Chevreuse* and *Guimene*.) " I expect, says she, to be befriended for my own sake, and don't I deserve it? I can't conceive how you can be amused by a wicked old Hag, and by a Girl, if possible, more foolish than the other. We are continually disputing about that silly Wretch, (pointing at M. *de Beaufort*, who was playing at Chess) " Let us take him with us, and go to *Peronne*."

You are not to wonder, that she talk'd thus contemptibly of M. *de Beaufort*, whom she ever tax'd with Impotency, for 'tis certain, that his Love was purely *Platonic*; for he never ask'd any Favour of her, and seem'd very uneasy with her for eating Flesh on

Fridays.

Fridays. She was so sweet upon me, and withal such a charming Beauty, that being naturally indisposed to let such Opportunities slip, I was melted into a Tenderness for her, notwithstanding my Suspicions of her, considering the then Situation of Affairs, and would have had her gone with me into the Cabinet; but her first Preliminary was, to go to *Peronne*, which put an End to our Amours.

Monseigneur *de Beaufort* waited on the Prince, and was well receiv'd; but I could not gain Admittance.

The 14th the Prince of *Conde* went to Parliament, and demanded that a Committee might be appointed to enquire into the horrid Assassination intended against his Person.

Tho' the *Frondeurs* were not asleep in the mean Time, yet most of our Friends were dispirited, and all very weak.

The Curates of *Paris* were my most hearty Friends, they labour'd with incredible Zéal among the People. And the Curate of *St. Gervais* sent me this Message: *Do but rally again, and get off the Assassination, and in a Week, you'll be stronger than your Enemies.*

I was inform'd that the Queen had writ to my Uncle, the Archbishop of *Paris*, to be sure to go to the Parliament on the 23^d, the Day that *Beaufort*, *Broussel*, and I, were to be impeach'd, because I had no Right to sit in the House if he was present. I begg'd of him not to go; but my Uncle being a Man of little Sense, and that much out of Order, and being moreover fearful, and ridiculously jealous of me, had promised the Queen to go. And all that we could get out of him was, that he would defend me in Parliament; better than I could defend my self. 'Tis to be observed, that tho' he chatter'd to us like a *Mag-Pye* in private, yet in publick he was as mute as a Fish. A Chirurgeon, who was in the Archbishop's Service, going to visit him, commended him for his Courage in resisting the Importunities of his Nephew, who, said he, had a Mind to bury him alive, and encouraged him to rise with all haste, and go to the Parliament-House; but he was no sooner

sooner out of his Bed, than the Surgeon ask'd him in a Fright, *How he did?* *Very well,* said my Lord; *but that's impossible,* said the Surgeon, *you look like Death,* and feeling his Pulse, he told him, *he was in a high Fever;* upon which, my Lord Archbishop went to Bed again, and all the Kings and Queens in Christendom could not get him out for a Fortnight.

We went to the Parliament, and found there the Princes, with near a Thousand Gentlemen, and I may say, the whole Court. I had few salutes in the Hall, because it was generally thought I was an undone Man. When I was enter'd the great Chamber, I heard a Hum, like that at the End of a pleasing Period in a Sermon. When I had taken my Place, I said, that hearing we were tax'd with a seditious Conspiracy, we were come to offer our Heads to the Parliament if Guilty, and if Innocent to demand Justice upon our Accusers; and that tho' I knew no Right the Company had to call me to Account, yet I would renounce all Privileges, to make my Innocence appear to a Body, for whom I had all my Life long the greatest Attachment and Veneration.

Then the Informations were read against what they call'd the public Conspiracy, from which it had pleas'd Almighty God to deliver the State and the Royal Family; after which I made a Speech, in Substance as follows.

" I don't believe, Gentlemen, that in any of the
" Ages past, Persons of our Quality had ever any personal Summons, grounded meerly upon Hearsays:
" Neither can I think, that Posterity will ever believe,
" that these Hearsays were admitted from the Mouths
" of the most infamous Miscreants that ever got out
" of a Goal. *Canto* was condemn'd to the Gallows
" at *Pau*; *Pichon*, to the Wheel, at *Mans*; *Sociande*,
" is a Rogue upon Record. Pray, Gentlemen, judge
" of their Evidence by their Character and Profession:
" But this is not all, they have the distinguishing Property of being Informers by Authority. I am sorely
" griev'd, that the Defence of our Honour, which is
" enjoin'd

" enjoin'd us by the Laws of God and Man, should
 " oblige me to expose to Light, under the most innocent
 " of Kings, such Abominations as were detested in the
 " most corrupt Ages of Antiquity, and under the worst
 " of Tyrants. But I must tell you, Sirs, that *Canto*,
 " *Sociande*, and *Gorgibus*, are authorized to inform a-
 " gainst us by a Commission, signed by that August
 " Name which should never be employ'd but for the
 " Preservation of the most sacred Laws, and which
 " Cardinal *Mazarin*, who knows no Law but that of
 " Revenge, which he meditates against the Defenders
 " of the publick Liberty, has forced M. *Tellier*, Secre-
 " tary of State, to counterfign.

" We demand Justice, Gentlemen, but we don't
 " demand it of you, till we have first most humbly
 " implored this House to execute the strictest Justice
 " that the Laws have provided against Rebels, if it ap-
 " pears that we have been concerned directly or indi-
 " rectly in raising this last Disturbance. Is it possible,
 " Gentlemen, that a Grand-Child of *Henry* the Great;
 " that a Senator of M. *Broussel's* Age and Probity;
 " and that the *Coadjutor* of *Paris*, should be so much
 " as suspected of being concern'd in a Sedition, rais'd
 " by a hot-brain'd Fool, at the Head of fifteen of the
 " vilest of the Mob? I am fully perswaded it would be
 " scandalous for me to insist longer on this Subject.
 " This is all I know, Gentlemen, of the Modern
 " Conspiracy."

The Applauses that came from the Court of Inqui-
 ries were inexpressible, many Voices were heard exclaim-
 ing against Patent Witnesses. Honest *Doujat*, who was
 one of the Persons appointed to make the Report, and
 who had acquainted me of the Facts by the Attorney-
 General *Talon*, his Kinsman, acknowledg'd it pub-
 licly, by pretending to make the Thing appear less
 odious. He got up therefore as if he were in a Passion,
 and spoke very artfully, to this Purpose: " These
 " Patents, Sir, are not to accuse you, as you are
 " pleased to say, but only to discover what pass'd in
 " the Assemblies of the Annuitants at the Town-House.

" If

" If the King did not promise Impunity to such as will
" give him Information necessary for his Service, and
" which sometimes can't be come at without involving
" the Evidence in a Crime, how should the King be
" inform'd at all? There is a great deal of difference
" between Patents of this Nature, and Commissions
" granted on purpose to accuse you."

You might have seen Fire in the Face of every Member. The first President call'd out, *To Order*, and said, *Messieurs de Beaufort*, the *Coadjutor*, and *Broussel*, you are accused, and you must withdraw. As *Beaufort* and I were leaving our Seats, *Broussel* stopp'd us, saying, Neither you, Gentlemen, nor I, are bound to depart, till we are order'd by the Company: The first President, who all the World knows to be our Adversary, should go out if we must. I added, *and Monsieur the Prince*, who thereupon spoke with a scornful Air, *What I, must I retire?* Yes, yes, Sir, said I, *Justice is no respecter of Persons*. The President *de Mesmes* said, No, *Monsieur*, you must not go out, unless the Company orders you. If the *Coadjutor* insists that you Highness retire, he must demand it by a Petition. As for himself, he is accused, and therefore must go out in Course; but seeing he raises Difficulties and Objections to the contrary, we must put it to the Vote; and it pass'd that we should withdraw. Mean while, most of the Members pass'd Encomiums upon us, Satyrs upon the Ministry, and Anathema's upon the Patent Witnesses. Nor were the Curates and the Parishioners wanting in their Duty on this Occasion. The People came in Shoals from all Parts of *Paris*, to the Parliament-House. Nevertheless, no Disrespect was shewn either to the King's Brother, or to Monsieur the Prince; only some in their Presence cry'd out, *God bless Monsieur de Beaufort*, *God bless the Coadjutor*.

Monsieur de Beaufort told the first President next Day, that the State and Royal Family being in Danger, every Moment was precious, and the Offenders ought to receive their condign Punishment, concluding that the Chambers ought to be assembled without loss of Time.

Time. *Broussel* attack'd the first President with a great deal of Warmth. Eight or ten Counsellors enter'd immediately into the great Chamber, to testify their Astonishment at the Indolence and Indifferency the House was in, after such a furious Conspiracy, and that so little Zeal was shewn to prosecute the Criminals. *Messieurs de Bignon* and *Talon*, Attornies General, alarmed the People, by declaring, that as for themselves, they had no Hand in the Conclusions, and that they were ridiculous. The first President returned very calm Answers, knowing very well that we should have been glad to have put him into a Passion, in Order to catch at some Expression that might bear an Exception in Law.

On *Christmas* Day, I preach'd such a Sermon on Christian Charity, without mentioning the present Affairs, that the Women even wept for the unjust Persecution of an Archbishop, who had so great a Tenderness for his very Enemies.

On the 29th, *Monsieur Beaufort* and I went to the Parliament-House, accompanied with a Body of three Hundred Gentlemen, to make it appear that we were more than Tribunes of the People, and to screen ourselves from the Insults of the Court-Party. We posted our selves in the fourth Chamber of the Inquests among the Courtiers, with whom we convers'd very frankly, yet upon the least Noise, when the Debates ran high in the great Chamber, we were ready to cut one another's Throats eight or ten Times every Morning. We were all distrustful of one another, and I may venture to say, there were not twenty Persons in the House but were arm'd with Poinards. As for my self, I was resolv'd to take none of those Weapons inconsistent with my Character, till one Day, when it was expected the House would be more warm than ordinary; and then *Monsieur de Beaufort* seeing one end of it peeping out of my Pocket, expos'd it to *Monsieur the Prince's* Captain of the Guards and others, saying, *See, Gentlemen, the Coadjutor's Prayer-Book.* I understood the Jest, but really I could not well digest it.

We

We petition'd the Parliament that the first President, being our sworn Enemy, might be expell'd the Houle; but it was put to the Vote, and carry'd 36 in the Majority, that he should keep his Station of Judge.

Paris had like to have been all in Confusion, upon Account of the Imprisonment of *Belot*, one of the Syndics of the Town-House Annuitants, who being arrested without a Decree, President *de la Grange* made it appear that there was nothing more contrary to the Declaration for which they had formerly so exerted themselves. The first President maintaining the Legality of his Imprisonment, *Daurat*, a Counsellor of the third Chamber, told him, that he was amazed that a Gentleman, who was so lately near being expell'd, could be so resolute for violating the Laws in the Face of the Sun. Whereupon the first President rose up in a Passion, saying, that there was neither Order nor Discipline in the House, and that he would resign his Place to another for whom they had more Respect. This Motion put the great Chamber all in a Ferment, which was felt in the fourth, where the Gentlemen of both Parties hasten'd to disingage from one another, every one shifting to his respective Side, and if the most insignificant Lacquey had then but drawn a Sword, *Paris* had been all in an Uproar.

We solicited very earnestly for our Tryal, which they delayed as much as 'twas in their Power, because they could not choose but acquit us, and condemn the Patent Witnesses. Various were the Pretences for putting it off, and though the Informations were not of Weight enough to whip a Porter, yet they were read over and over at every turn, to prolong the Time.

The Publick began to be persuaded of our Innocence, as also the Prince of *Conde*; and *M. de Bouillon* told me, that he very much suspected it for a Trick of the Cardinal's.

The 1st of *January* 1650, *Madame de Chevreuse*, having a Mind to visit the Queen, with whom she had entertain'd, in all her Disgrace, an unaccountable Correspondence,

respondence, went to the King's Palace. The Cardinal taking her aside in the Queen's little Cabinet, said to her, *You love the Queen, is it possible for you not to make your Friends love her? How can that be,* said she? *The Queen is no more a Queen, but an humble Servant to Monsieur the Prince.* Good God, replied the Cardinal, *we might do great Matters if we could get some Men into our Interest. But Monsieur de Beaufort is at the Service of Madame de Montbazou, and she is devoted to Vigneul and the Coadjutor.*

At the mention of which he smiled. *I take you Sir,* said Madame de Chevreuse, *I'll answer for him. and for her.* Thus the Conversation began, and the Cardinal making a Sign to the Queen with a Nod, Madame de Chevreuse had a long Conference that Night with Her Majesty, who gave her this Billet for me, written and signed with her own Hand.

" Notwithstanding what has pass'd, and what is now
 " doing, I can't but persuade my self that Monsieur
 " the Coadjutor is in my Interest. I desire to see him,
 " and that no Body may know it but Madame and Ma-
 " demoiselle Chevreuse. This Name shall be your Se-
 " curity. A N N E.

Being convinced that the Queen was downright angry with the Prince of Conde upon Account of a Rumour spread abroad that he had had some intriguing Gallantries with her Majesty, I weigh'd all Circumstances, and return'd this Answer to the Queen.

" Never was there one Moment of my Life, where-
 " in I was not equally at your Majesty's Devotion. I
 " am so far from consulting my own Safety, that I would
 " gladly die for your Service.
 " I'll go to any Place your
 " Majesty shall order me.

My Answer, with the Queen's Letter enclosed, was carry'd back by Madame de Chevreuse, and well received.

ceiv'd. I went immediately to Court, and was carry'd up the Back-stairs by the Queen's Train-bearer to the *Petit Oratoire*, where Her Majesty was shut up all alone. She shewed me as much Kindness as she could, considering her Hatred against Monsieur the Prince, or her Friendship for the Cardinal, which of the two seem'd to be the most prevalent, because in speaking of the Civil-Wars, and of the Cardinal's Friendship for me, she call'd him *the poor Cardinal* twenty times over. Half an Hour after came in the Cardinal, who begg'd the Queen to dispense with the Respect he ow'd Her Majesty, while he embrac'd me in her Presence. He was pleas'd to say, he was very sorry that he could not give me that very Moment his own Cardinal's Cap. He talk'd so much of Favours, Gratifications, and Rewards, that I was oblig'd to explain my self, *knowing that nothing is more destructive of new Reconciliations, than a seeming Unwillingness to be oblig'd to those with whom you are reconciled.* I answer'd, *That the greatest Recompence I could expect, tho' I had sav'd the Crown, was to have the Honour of serving Her Majesty,* and I humbly pray'd the Queen to give me no other Recompence; that at least I might have the Satisfaction to make Her Majesty sensible, *that this was the only Reward I valued.*

The Cardinal desired the Queen to command me to accept of the Nomination to the Cardinal Dignity, which, said he, *la Riviere* has snatch'd with Insolence, and acknowledged with Treachery. I excus'd my self with saying, that I had taken a Resolution never to accept of the Cardinalship by any Means which seem'd to have relation to the Civil Wars, to the end I might convince the Queen, that 'twas the most rigid Necessity had separated me from her Service. I reject'd, upon the same Account, all the other advantageous Propositions he made me; and he still insisting that the Queen could do no less than confer upon me something that was very considerable, for the signal Service I was like to do Her Majesty. I answer'd, "There is one Point, wherein the Queen can do me more good than if she gave me a Triple Crown. Her Majesty told me just now, that she will cause
" Monsieur

“ Monsieur the Prince to be apprehended. A Person of
 “ his high Rank and Merit, neither can, nor ought to
 “ be always shut up in a Prison. When he comes
 “ abroad, he will be full of Resentment against me,
 “ tho’, I hope, my Dignity will be my Protection.
 “ There are a great many Gentlemen engaged with me,
 “ who, in such a Juncture, would be ready to serve
 “ the Queen. And if it seem’d good to your Majesty
 “ to entrust one of them with some important Employ-
 “ ment, I would be more obliged than with Ten Car-
 “ dinal Hats.

The Cardinal told the Queen, that nothing was more just, and the Affair should be considered between him and me.

We had several Conferences, on which we agreed on Gratifications for some of our Friends, and to arrest the Prince of Conde, the Prince of Conti, and the Duke de Longueville.

The Cardinal took an occasion to speak of the Treachery of *la Riviere*. *This Man*, said he, *takes me to be the most stupid Creature living, and thinks he shall be to-morrow a Cardinal.* “ I diverted my self to Day, “ with letting him try on some scarlet Cloth I lately received from *Italy*, and I put it near his Face, to know “ whether a scarlet Colour or Carnation became him “ best.

I heard from *Rome*, that his Eminence was not behind hand with *la Riviere* upon the Score of Treachery. For on the very Day that he got him nominated by the King, he writ a Letter to Cardinal *Sachelli*, fitter to recommend him to a yellow Cap, than to a red one. This Letter nevertheless was full of Tendernefs for *la Riviere*, which *Mazarin* knew was the only Way to ruine him with Pope *Innocent*, who hated *Mazarin* and all his Adherents.

Madame de *Chevreuse* undertook to see how the Duke of *Orleans* would relish the Design of imprisoning the Princes. She told him, that tho’ the Queen was not satisfied with Monsieur the Prince, yet she could not form a Resolution of Apprehending him, without the Concurrence

Concurrence of his Royal Highness: She magnified the Advantages of bringing over to the King's Service the powerful Faction of the *Fronde*, and the daily Dangers *Paris* was exposed to, both of Fire and Sword. This last Reason touch'd him as much or more than all; for he trembled every time he came to the Parliament, and Monsieur the Prince very often could not prevail with him to go at all, and a Fit of the Cholic was generally assigned as the Reason of his Absence. In fine he consented, and on the 18th of *January*, the three Princes were put under an Arrest by three Officers of the Queen's Guards.

The People having a Notion that Monsieur *de Beaufort* was apprehended, ran to their Arms, which I caused to be laid down immediately, by marching thro' the Streets with Flambeaux before me. Monsieur *de Beaufort* did the like, and the Night concluded with Bonfires.

The Queen sent a Letter from the King to the Parliament, with the Reasons why the Prince of *Conde* was confined, which were neither strong, nor well set off. However, we obtained an Arret for our Absolution.

The Princesses were order'd to retire to *Chantilli*. Madame *de Longueville* went towards *Normandy*, but found no Sanctuary there; for the Parliament of *Rouen* sent her a Message, to desire her to depart the City; Monsieur the Duke of *Richelieu* would not receive her into *Havre*; and from thence she retir'd to *Diepe*.

Monsieur *de Bouillon*, who, after the Peace, was strongly attach'd to the Prince of *Conde*, went in great haste to *Turenne*; Monsieur *de Turenne* got into *Stenai*; Monsieur *de la Rochefoucaut*, then Prince of *Marillac*, returned home to *Poitou*; and Mareschal *de Breze*, Father in Law to Monsieur the Prince of *Conde*, went to *Saumur*.

There was a Declaration published and register'd in Parliament against them, whereby they were order'd to wait on the King within fifteen Days, upon Pain of being proceeded against as Disturbers of the Publick Peace, and guilty of High-Treason.

The

The Court carried all before them. Madame de Longueville, upon the King's going into *Normandy*, escaped by Sea into *Holland*, whence she went afterwards to *Arras*, to try *la Tour*, one of her Husband's Pensioners, who offer'd her his Person; but refus'd her the Place. She repair'd at last to *Stenai*, whether Monsieur de Turenne went to meet her, with all the Friends and Servants of the confined Princes that he could muster. The King went from *Normandy* to *Burgundy*, and returned to *Paris*, crown'd with Laurels of Victory.

The Princess Dowager, who had been order'd to retire to *Bourges*, came with a Petition to Parliament, praying for their Protection, to stay in *Paris*, and that she might have Justice done her for the Illegal Confinement of the Princes her Children. She fell at the Feet of the Duke of *Orleans*, begg'd the Protection of the Duke of *Beaufort*, and said to me, That she had the Honour to be my Kinswoman. Monsieur de Beaufort was very much perplex'd what to do, and I was e'en ready to die for Shame; but we could do nothing for her, and she was oblig'd to go to *Valeri*.

Several private Annuitants, who had made a Noise in the Assemblies at the Town-House, were afraid of being call'd to Account, and therefore after Monsieur the Prince was arrested, they desired me to procure a General Amnesty. I spoke about it to the Cardinal, who seem'd very pliable, and shewing me his Hatband, which was *a-la-mode de Fronde*, said, *He hoped himself to be compris'd in that Amnesty*; but he shuffled it off so long, that it was not publish'd and register'd in Parliament till the 12th of *May*, and it had not been obtain'd then, had not I threaten'd vigorously to prosecute the Patent Witneses, which they mightily apprehended, being so conscious of the Heinousness of their Crime, that two of them had already made their escape.

The present Calm hardly deserv'd that Name, for the Storm of War began to rise again in several Places at once.

Madame de Longueville and Monsieur de Turenne, made a Treaty with the *Spaniards*; and the latter join'd their Army, which entred *Picardy*, and besieged *Guise*,
after

after having taken *Catelet*; but for want of Provision, the Arch-Duke was obliged to raise the Siege. Monsieur *de Turenne* levy'd Troops with *Spanish* Money, and was join'd by the greatest Part of the Officers commanding the Troops that went under the Name of the Prince's Troops.

The wretched Conduct of Monsieur *d'Espernon*, had so confounded the Affairs of *Guienne*, that nothing but his removal could retrieve them.

One of the greatest Mischiefs which the Despotick Authority of Ministers has occasion'd in the World in these later Times, is a Practice introduced by their own private mistaken Interests, of supporting Superiors always against their Inferiors. 'Tis a Maxim borrow'd from *Matthiavel*, whom few understand, and whom too many cry up for an able Man, because he was always wicked. He was very far from being a compleat Statesman, and was frequently out in his Politicks; but I think never more grossly mistaken than in this Maxim, which I observ'd as a great Weakness in *Mazarin*, who was therefore the less qualify'd to settle the Affairs of *Guienne*, which were in so much Confusion, that I believe, if the good Sense of *Jeannin* and *Villeroi* had been infus'd into the Brains of Cardinal *Richelieu*, it had not been sufficient to set them to rights.

Senneterre, perceiving that the Cardinal *Mazarin* and I were not cordial Friends, undertook to reconcile us, and for that end carry'd me to the Cardinal, who embrac'd me very tenderly, said he laid his Heart upon the Table, (twas one of his usual Phrases,) and protested he would talk as freely to me as if I was his own Son. I did not believe a Word of what he said; but I assur'd his Eminence, that I would speak to him as if he was my Father, and I was as good as my Word. I told him, I had no Personal Interest in View, but to disengage my self from the publick Disturbances, without any private Advantage, and that for the same Reason, I thought my self obliged to come off with Reputation and Honour. I desired him to consider, that my Age and

want of Skill in Publick Affairs, could not give him any Jealousie that I aim'd to be the first Minister. I conjur'd him to consider also, that the Influence I had over the People of *Paris*, supported by meer Necessity, did rather reflect Disgrace than Honour upon my Dignity; and that he ought to believe, that this one Reason was enough to make me impatient to be rid of all these publick Broils; besides a thousand other Inconveniencies arising every Moment, which made me out of love with Faction: And as for the Cardinal Dignity, which might peradventure give him some Umbrage, I could tell him very sincerely what had been, and what was still my Notion of this Dignity, which I once foolishly imagin'd would be more Honourable for me to despise than to enjoy. I mentioned this Circumstance, to let him see, that in my tender Years I was no admirer of the Purple, and not very fond of it now; because I was perswaded that an Archbishop of *Paris* could hardly miss of obtaining that Dignity some time or other, according to form, by Actions purely Ecclesiastical; and that he should be loth to use any other Means to procure it: I said, that I should be extremely sorry, if my Purple was stain'd with the least Drop of Blood spilt in the Civil Wars; that I was resolv'd to clear my Hands of every thing that favours of Intrigue, before I would make, or suffer any Step which had any tendency that Way; that he knew, that for the same Reason, I would neither accept Money nor Abbeyes, and that consequently, I was engag'd by the publick Declarations I had made upon all those Heads, to serve the Queen without any Interest; that the only View which continued me in the same Disposition, was to come off with Honour, to the end I might resume the spiritual Functions belonging to my Profession with safety; that I desired nothing of him, but the Accomplishment of an Affair, which would be more for the King's Service, than for my particular Interest; that he knew, that the next Day after the arresting of the Prince, he sent me with his Promise to the Annuitants of the Town-House, and that for want of Performance, those Men were perswaded that I was in Concert with the Court to deceive them.

them. Lastly, I told him, that the Access I had to the Duke of *Orleans*, might perhaps give him Umbrage; but I desir'd him to consider, that I never sought that Honour, and that I was very sensible of the Inconveniences attending it. I enlarg'd upon this Head, which is the difficultest Point to be understood by Prime Ministers, who are so fond of being freely admitted into a Prince's Presence, that notwithstanding all the Experience in the World, they can't help thinking, that therein consists the Essence of Happiness.

When Truth is come to a certain Point, it darts such powerful Rays of Light as are irresistible; but I never knew a Man who had so little Regard for Truth as *Mazarin*. He seem'd however more regardful of it than usual, and I laid hold of the Occasion, to tell him of the dangerous Consequences of the Disturbances of *Guienne*; and that if he continued to support Monsieur d' *Espernon*, the Prince's Faction would not let slip this Opportunity; that if the Parliament of *Bourdeaux* should engage in their Party, it would not be long before that of *Paris* would do the same; and that after the late Conflagration in this Metropolis, he could not suppose but there was still some Fire hid under the Ashes; and that the factious Party had reason to fear the heavy Punishment to which the whole Body of them is liable, as we our selves were two or three Months ago. The Cardinal began to yield, especially when he was told, that Monsieur de *Bouillon* began to make a Disturbance in the *Limousin*, where M. de la *Rochefoucaut* had join'd him with some Troops.

To confirm our Reconciliation, a Marriage was proposed between my Niece and his Nephew, to which he gave his consent; but I was as much averse to it, being not yet resolv'd to bury my Family in that of *Mazarin*; nor did I set so great a Value on Grandure, as to purchase it with the publick Odium. However, it produced no Animosity on either side, and his Friends knew that I should be very glad to be employed in making a General Peace; they acted their Parts so well, that the

Cardinal, whose Love Fit for me lasted about a Fortnight, promised me, as it were of his own accord, that I should be gratified.

News came about this time from *Guienne*, that the *Dukes de Bouillon* and *Rochefoucaut* had carried Madame the Princess into *Bordeaux*, together with Monsieur the Duke, her Son. The Parliament was not displeased with the People for receiving into their City Monsieur the Duke, yet they observ'd more Decorum than could be expected from Inhabitants of *Gascogne*, so irritated as they were against Monsieur d' *Espernon*. They order'd that Madame the Princess, Monsieur the Duke, Messieurs de *Bouillon* and de *Rochefoucaut*, should have the Liberty to stay in *Bordeaux*, provided they would promise to undertake nothing against the King's Service; and that the Petition of Madame the Princess should be sent to the King, with a most humble Remonstrance from the Parliament upon the Confinement of the Princes. At the same Time, one of the Presidents sent advice to *Senneterre*, that the Parliament was not so far enraged, but that they would still remember their Loyalty to the King, provided he did but remove Monsieur d' *Espernon*. But in case of any further delay, he would not answer for the Parliament, and much less for the People, who, being now managed and supported by the Prince's Party, would in a little time make themselves Masters of the Parliament. *Senneterre* did what he could to induce the Cardinal to make good Use of this Advice; and Monsieur de *Chateauneuf*, who was now Chancellor, talk'd wonderfully well upon the Point; but seeing the Cardinal gave no return to his Reasons, but by exclaiming against the Parliament of *Bordeaux*, for sheltering Men condemn'd by the King's Declaration, he told him very plainly: *Set out to Morrow, Sir, if you do not accommodate Affairs to Day; you should have been by this time upon the Garonne.* The Event made it appear that *Chateauneuf* was in the right; for tho' the Parliament was very hot, they stood out a long time against the Madness of the People, spurr'd on by Monsieur de *Bouillon*, and issued an Arret, ordering an Envoy of *Spain*, who was sent

sent thither to commence a Treaty with the Duke de *Bouillon*, to depart the City, and forbid any of their Body to visit such as had Correspondence with *Spain*, the Princess her self not excepted. Moreover, the Mob having undertaken to force the Parliament to unite with the Princes, they armed the Magistracy, who fired upon them, and made them retire.

A little before the King departed for *Guienne*, which was in the beginning of *July*, Advice came, that the Parliament of *Bordeaux* had consented to an Union with the Princes, and sent a Deputy to the Parliament of *Paris*, and that the Deputy had orders to see neither the King nor the Ministers, and that the whole Province was disposed for a Revolt. The Cardinal was in an extream Consternation, and recommended himself to the Favour of the meanest Man of the *Fronde* with the greatest Suppleness imaginable.

As soon as the King came to the Neighbourhood of *Bordeaux*, the Deputies of Parliament, who went to meet the Court at *Lebourne*, were peremptorily commanded to open the Gates of the City to the King, and to all his Troops; they answered, that one of their Privileges was, to guard the King themselves, while he was in any of their Towns. Upon this, *Mareschal de la Meilleraye* took the Castle of *Vaire*, where *Pichon* commanded, whom the Cardinal ordered to be hanged, and *Monfieur de Bouillon* hanged up an Officer in *Meilleraye's* Army, by way of Reprisal.

After that, the Mareschal besieged the City in Form, which despairing of Succours from *Spain*, was forc'd to capitulate upon the following Terms: That a General Pardon should be granted to all that had taken up Arms and treated with *Spain*; that all the Soldiers should be disbanded, except those that the King had a Mind to keep in his pay; that Madame the Princess, and the Duke, should be at liberty to reside either in *Anjou* or at *Mouzon*, with no more than 200 Foot and 60 Horse, and that *Monfieur d'Espernon* should be recalled from the Government of *Guienne*.

The Princeſs had an Interview with both the King and Queen, at which there were great Conferences between the Cardinal and the Dukes *de Bouillon* and *Roche-foucault*.

The Deputy from *Bordeaux* arriving at *Paris* ſoon after the King's Departure, came immediately to Parliament, and after an eloquent Harangue, preſented a Letter from the Parliament of *Bordeaux*, together with their Arrets, and demanded an Union between the two Parliaments. After ſome Debates, it was reſolv'd, that the Deputy ſhould deliver his Credentials in Writing, which ſhould be preſented to his Maſteſty by the Deputies of the Parliament of *Paris*, who would at the ſame time moſt humbly beſeech the Queen to reſtore Peace to *Guienne*.

The Duke of *Orleans* was againſt Debating about he Petition to the Queen for the Enlargement of the Princeſs, and the Banishment of Cardinal *Mazarin*, nevertheless, many of the Members voted for it, upon a Motion made by the Preſident *Viole*, (who was a warlike Zealot for the Prince of *Conde*,) not becauſe he had hopes of carrying it, but on purpoſe to embarraſs *Monſieur de Beaufort* and me, upon a Subject that we did not care to ſpeak to; and yet did not dare to be altogether Silent in, without paſſing in ſome Meaſure for *Mazarin*. Preſident *Viole* did the Prince a great deal of Service on this Occaſion, for *Bourdet*, a brave Soldier, who had been a Captain of the Guards, and was attached to the Intereſt of the Prince, did an Action which embolden'd the Party very much, tho' it had no Succeſs. He dreſſed himſelf, and fourſcore other Officers of his Troops, all in the Habit of Maſons, and having aſſembled many of the Dregs of the People, to whom he had diſtributed Money, came directly to the Duke of *Orleans* as he was going out, and cry'd, *No Mazarin, God bleſs the Princeſs*. His Royal Highneſs, at this Apparition, and the firing of a Brace of Piſtols at the ſame time by *Bourdet*, ran to the great Chamber; but *Monſieur de Beaufort* ſtood his Ground ſo well with the Duke's Guards and our Men, that *Bourdet* was repulſ'd and thrown down the Parliament Stairs.

But

But the Confusion in the great Chamber was still worse. There were daily Assemblies, wherein the Cardinal was severely attack'd, and the Princes Party had the Pleasure to expose us, as Accomplices with him. But what is very strange is, that at the same time the Cardinal and his Friends accused us of corresponding with the Parliament of *Bordeaux*, because we maintained, in case the Court did not adjust Affairs there, we would infallibly bring the Parliament of *Paris* into the Interest of the Prince. If I was at the Point of Death, I should have no need to be Confess'd upon Account of my Behaviour on this Occasion. I acted with as much Sincerity in this Juncture, as if I had been the Cardinal's Nephew, tho' really it was not out of any Love to him, but because I thought my self obliged in Prudence to oppose the Progress of the Prince's Faction, owing to the foolish Conduct of his Enemies; and to this end, I was oblig'd as much to oppose the Flattery of the Cardinal's Tools, as the Efforts made by such who were in the Service of the Prince.

On the 3d of *September*, President *Bailleul* returned with the other Deputies, and made a Report in Parliament of his Journey to Court, in Substance: That the Queen thank'd the Parliament for their good Intentions, and had commanded them to assure the Parliament in her Name, that she was ready to restore Peace to *Guienne*; and that it had been done e're now, had not Monsieur de *Bouillon*, who had treated with the *Spaniards*, made himself Master of *Bordeaux*, and thereby cut off the Effects of his Majesty's Goodness.

The Duke of *Orleans* acquainted the House, that he had receiv'd a Letter from the Arch-Duke, signifying that the King of *Spain* having sent him full Powers to treat of a General Peace, he desired earnestly to negotiate it with him. But his Royal Highness added, that he did not think it proper to return him any Answer till he had the Opinion of the Parliament. The Trumpeter who brought the Letter, beat a Parley at *Tiroir Cross*, and spoke very seditious Words to the People. The next Day they found Libels posted up and down the City in

the Name of Monsieur *de Turenne*, setting forth that the Arch-Duke was coming with no other Disposition than to make Peace; and in one of them were these Words: "It is your Business *Parisians* to solicit
 " your false Tribunes, who are turn'd at last Pensioners
 " and Protectors of *Mazarin*, who have for so long a
 " time sported themselves with your Fortunes and Re-
 " pose, and spurred you on, kept you back, and made
 " you hot or cold, according to the Caprices and different Progress of their Ambition.

You see the State and Condition the *Frondeurs* were in at this Juncture, when they could not move one Step but to their own Disadvantage. The Duke of *Orleans* spoke to me that Night with a great deal of Bitterness against the Cardinal, which he had never done before, and said, he had been trick'd by him twice, and that he was ruining himself, the State, and all of us, and would by so doing place the Prince of *Conde* upon the Throne.

In fine, Monsieur own'd, that 'twas not yet time to humble the Cardinal; therefore said Monsieur *Belliere*, *Let's be upon our Guard, this Man can give us the Slip every Moment.*

Next Day, a Letter was sent from the Prince of *Conde* by the Baron *de Verderonne*, to the Arch-Duke, desiring him to name the Time, Place, and Persons for a Treaty. The Baron returned with a Letter from the Arch-Duke to his Royal Highness, desiring that the Conferences might be held between *Rheims* and *Rhetel*, and that they might meet there Personally, with such others as they shall think fit to bring with them. The Court was surpriz'd, but however did not think fit to delay sending full Powers to his Royal Highness to treat of a Peace on such Terms, as he thought reasonable and advantageous for the King's Service, and there were join'd with him, tho' in subordination, Messieurs *Mole*, the first President, *d' Avaux*, and my self, with the Title of Ambassadors Extraordinary and Plenipotentiaries. Monsieur *d' Avaux* oblig'd me to assure *Don Gabriel de Toledo* in private, that if the *Spaniards* would but come to reasonable Terms, we would conclude a Peace with them in two Days

Days time. And his Royal Highness said, that *Gabriel* being a Lover of Money, I should promise him on his Part, 100000 Crowns, if the Conference that was proposed ended in a Peace, and bid him tell the Arch-Duke, that if the *Spaniards* proposed reasonable Terms, he would Sign, and have them Registred in Parliament before *Mazarin* should know any thing of the Matter.

Don Gabriel receiv'd the Overture with Joy, he had some particular Whimsies, but *Fuensaldagne*, who had a particular Kindness for him said, that he was the wisest Fool he ever saw in his Life. I have remarked more than once, *That this sort of Men can't persuade, but can insinuate perfectly well; and that the Talent of Insinuation is of more Service than that of Persuasion; because one may insinuate to a Hundred, where one can hardly persuade Five.*

The King of *England*, after having lost the Battle of *Worcester*, arriv'd at *Paris* the Day that *Don Gabriel* set out, viz. Sept. 13, 1650. My Lord *Taff* was his great Chamberlain, Valet de Chambre, Clerk of the Kitchen, Cup-bearer and all, an Equipage answerable to his Court, for his Majesty had not changed his Shirt all the Way from *England*; upon his Arrival at *Paris* indeed, he had one lent him by my Lord *Jermin*; but the Queen his Mother, had not Money to buy him another for the next Day. The Duke of *Orleans* went to compliment his Majesty upon his Arrival; but it was not in my Power to persuade his Royal Highness to give his Nephew one Penny; because, said he, a little would not be worth his Acceptance, and a great deal would engage me to do as much hereafter. This leads me to make the following Digression: *That there is nothing so wretched as to be a Minister to a Prince, and at the same time not his Favourite. For 'tis his Favour only that gives one a Power over the minuter Concerns of the Family, for which the Publick does nevertheless think a Minister accountable when they see he has Power over Affairs of far greater Consequence.*

Therefore I was not in a Condition to oblige his Royal Highness to assist the King of *England* with a Thousand Pistoles, for which I was horribly ashamed, both upon his Account and my own; but I borrow'd fifteen Hundred for him from Monsieur *Morangis*, and carried them to my Lord * *Taff*. 'Tis remarkable, that the same Night, as I was going home, I met one *Tilney* an *Englishman*, whom I had formerly known at *Rome*, who told me, that *Vere*, a great Parliamentarian, and a Favourite of *Cromwell*, was arriv'd at *Paris*, and had orders to see me. I was a little puzzled; however, I judg'd it would be improper to refuse him an Interview. *Vere* gave me a little Letter from *Cromwell* in the Nature of Credentials, importing that the Sentiments I had discover'd in the Defence of Publick Liberty, added to my Reputation, had induced *Cromwell* to desire to enter with me into the strictest Friendship. The Letter was in the main wonderful civil and complaisant. I answer'd it with a great deal of Respect, but in such a manner as became a true Catholick and an honest *Frenchman*. *Vere* appear'd to be a Man of surprising Abilities.

I now return to our own Affairs. I was told as a mighty Secret, that *Tellier* had Orders from the Cardinal, to remove the Princes from *Bois de Vincennes*, if the Enemy were likely to come near the Place, and that he should endeavour by all Means to procure the Consent of the Duke of *Orleans* for that end; but that in Case of refusal, these Orders should be executed notwithstanding, and that he should endeavour to gain me into these Measures, by the Means of Madame *de Chevreuse*. When *Tellier* came to me, I assur'd him, that it was all one both to me and the Duke of *Orleans* whether the Princes were removed or not; but since my Opinion was desired, I must declare, that I think nothing can be

* My Lord Clarendon extols the Civilities of Cardinal de Retz to King Charles II. and has inserted a curious Conversation which the Cardinal had with that Prince.

more contrary to the true Interest of the King; for, said I, " The *Spaniards* must get a Battle before they can
 " come to *Vincennes*, and when there, they must have a
 " flying Camp to invest the Place, before they can deliver the Princes from Confinement, and therefore I
 " am convinced that there is no Necessity for their Removal; and I do affirm, *That all unnecessary Changes*
 " *in Matters which are in themselves disagreeable, are*
 " *pernicious, because odious.* I'll maintain farther, that
 " there is less Reason to fear the Duke of Orleans and
 " the *Frondeurs*, than to apprehend the *Spaniards*. Put
 " the Case that his Royal Highness was more Dissaffected to the Court, than any Body; suppose farther,
 " that Monsieur de Beaufort and I had a Mind to relieve
 " the Princes, which way could we do it? Is not the
 " whole Garrison in that Castle in the King's Service?
 " Has his Royal Highness any regular Troops to besiege *Vincennes*? And granting the *Frondeurs* to be the
 " greatest Fools imaginable, will they expose the People
 " of *Paris* at a Siege, which two Thousand of the
 " King's Troops might raise in a quarter of an Hour,
 " tho' it consisted of a hundred Thousand Citizens? I
 " therefore conclude, that the Removal would be altogether Impolitic. Does it not look rather as if the
 " Cardinal feigns an Apprehension from the *Spaniards*,
 " only as a Pretence to make himself Master of the
 " Princes, and to dispose of their Persons at Pleasure.
 " The generality of the People being *Frondeurs*, will
 " conclude you take the Prince of Conde out of their
 " Hands, whom they look upon to be safe while they
 " see him walking upon the Battlements of his Prison;
 " and that you'll give him his Liberty when you please,
 " and put him upon besieging *Paris* a second time. On
 " the other Hand, the Princes Party will improve this
 " Removal very much to their own Advantage, by the
 " Compassion such a Spectacle will raise in the People,
 " when they see three Princes dragg'd in Chains from
 " one Prison to another. I was really mistaken just
 " now, when I said the Case was all one to me, for I
 " see that I am nearly concerned, because the People, in
 " which

“ which Word I include the Parliament, will cry out
 “ against it; I must be then obliged, for my own safe-
 “ ty, to say, I did not approve of the Resolution.
 “ Then the Court will be inform’d that I find fault with
 “ it, and not only so, but that I do it in order to raise
 “ the Mob, and discredit the Cardinal, which, tho’
 “ never so false, yet in the Consequence, People will
 “ firmly believe it, and thus I shall meet with the same
 “ Treatment I met with in the beginning of the late
 “ Troubles, and what I even now experience in relation
 “ to the Affairs of *Guienne*: I am said to be the Cause
 “ of these Troubles, because I foretold them; and I
 “ was said to encourage the Revolt at *Bourdeaux*, be-
 “ cause I was against the Conduct that occasion’d it.

Tellier, in the Queen’s Name, thank’d me for my
 Non-resisting Disposition, and made the same Proposal to
 his Royal Highness; upon which I spoke, not to second
Tellier, who pleaded for the Necessity of the Removal,
 to which I could by no means be reconciled; but to
 make it evident to his Royal Highness, that he was not
 any way concerned in it as to his own private Capacity;
 and that in case the Queen did command it positively,
 it was his Duty to obey. Monsieur *de Beaufort* opposed
 it so furiously, as to offer the Duke of *Orleans* to attack
 the Guards which were to remove him. I had solid Rea-
 sons to dissuade him from it, to the last of which he
 submitted, it being an Argument which I had from the
 Queen’s own Mouth, when she set out for *Guienne*, viz.
 that *Bar* offer’d to assassinate the Princes, if it should
 happen that he was not in a Condition to hinder their
 escape. I was astonish’d when her Majesty trusted me
 with this Secret, and imagin’d that the Cardinal had
 possessed her with a Jealousie that the *Frondeurs* had a
 Design to seize the Person of the Prince of *Conde*. For
 my Part, I never dream’d of such a Thing in my Life.
 The Dukes of *Orleans* and *Beaufort* were both shock’d
 at the Thought on’t, and in short, ’twas agreed that
 his Royal Highness should give his Consent for the Re-
 moval, and that Monsieur *de Beaufort* and my self should

not

not give it out among the People that we approved of it.

The Day that the Princes were remov'd to *Marcouffi*, President *Bellievre* told the Keeper of the Seals in plain Terms, that if he continued to treat me as he had done hitherto, he would be oblig'd in Honour to give his Testimony to the Truth. To whom the Keeper return'd this blunt Answer: *The Princes are no longer in sight of Paris, the Coadjutor must not therefore talk so loud.*

I return now to the Parliament, which was so moderate at this time, that the Cardinal was hardly mention'd, and they agreed *Nemine Contradicente*, that the Parliament should send Deputies to *Bourdeaux*, to know once for all, if that Parliament was for Peace or not.

Soon after this, the Parliament of *Toulouse* writ to that of *Paris*, concerning the Disturbances in *Guienne*, part whereof belonged to their Jurisdiction, and expressly demanded an Arret of Union. But the Duke of *Orleans* warded against the Blow very dexterously, which was of great Consequence, and more by his Address, than by his Authority, brought the Parliament to dismiss the Deputies with civil Answers and insignificant Expressions; upon which, President *Bellievre* said to me, *What Pleasure should we not take in acting as we do, for Persons that had but the Sense to know it?*

The Parliament did not continue long in that Calm. They pass'd an Arret to interrogate the State Prisoners in the *Bastile*; broke out sometimes like a Whirl-wind, with Thunder and Lightning against Cardinal *Mazarin*, at other Times they complain'd of the Misapplication of the publick Funds. We had much ado to ward off the Blows, and had not been able to hold out long against the Impetuousness of the Waves, but for the News of the Peace of *Bourdeaux*, which was register'd there the first of *October*, 1650, and put the Prince of *Conde's* Party into a Consternation.

The main Artifice which ran through Cardinal *Mazarin's* Politicks was, always to entertain some Men of our own Party, with whom, half reconciled, he played fast
and

and loose before our Eyes, and was negotiating with them eternally, deceiving, and being deceived in his turn. The Consequence of all this was a great thick Cloud, wherein the *Frondeurs* themselves were at last involv'd; but they set the Exhalations on Fire, which produced Thunder.

The Cardinal being puffed up with his Success, in Accommodating the Troubles of *Guienne*, thought of nothing else than crowning his Triumph by chastising the *Frondeurs*, who, said he, had made use of the King's Absence, to alienate the Duke of *Orleans* from his Service, to encourage the Revolt at *Bourdeaux*, and to make themselves Masters of the Persons of the Princes. At the same time he told the Princess *Palatine*, that he detested the cruel Hatred I bore to the Prince of *Conde*; and that the Propositions I made daily to him on that score, were altogether unworthy of a Christian. Yet he suggested to the Duke of *Orleans*, that I made great Overtures to him to be reconciled to the Court; but that he could not trust me, because I was from Morning to Night negotiating with the Friends of the Prince of *Conde*. Thus the Cardinal rewarded me for what I did with incredible Application, and I must say, uncommon Sincerity for the Queen's Service, during the Courts Absence. I don't mention the Dangers I was in twice or thrice a Day, surpassing even those of Soldiers in Battles. For imagine, I beseech you, what Pain and Anguish I must be in to hear my self called a *Mazarin*, and to bear all the Odium annexed to that hateful Appellation, in a City where he made it his Business to destroy me in the Opinion of a Prince, whose Nature it was to be always in Fear, and to trust none but such as hoped to Rise by my Fall.

The Cardinal gave himself such Airs after the Peace at *Bourdeaux*, that some said, 'twas my best way to retire before the King's Return.

Cardinal *Mazarin* had been formerly Secretary to *Pancirole*, the Pope's Nuncio for the Peace of *Italy*, whom he betrayed, and 'twas proved that he had a secret Correspondence with the Governor of *Milan*. *Pancirole* being

being created Cardinal and Secretary of State to the Church, did not forget the Perfidiousness of his Secretary, now created Cardinal by Pope *Urban*, at the Request of Cardinal *Richelieu*, and did not at all endeavour to qualifie the Anger which Pope *Innocent* had conceived against *Mazarin* after the Assassination of one of his Nephews, in conjunction with Cardinal * *Anthony. Pancirole*, who thought he could not affront *Mazarin* more than by contributing to make me Cardinal, did me all the kind Offices with Pope *Innocent*, who gave him leave to treat with me about that Affair.

Madame *de Chevreuse* told the Queen all that she had observ'd of my Conduct in the King's Absence, and what she had seen was certainly one continued Series of considerable Services done to the Queen. She recounted at last all the Injustice done me, the Contempt put upon me, and the just Grounds of my Diffidence, which of Necessity, she said, ought to be removed, and that the only Means of removing it, was the Hat. The Queen, at this, was in a Passion. The Cardinal kept upon the Defence, not by an open Denial, for he had offer'd it me several Times; but by recommending Patience, intimating that a great Monarch should be forc'd to nothing. Monsieur seconding Madame *de Chevreuse* in her Attack, shock'd the Cardinal, who, at least in Appearance, gave Ground, out of Respect for his Royal Highness. Madame *de Chevreuse* having brought them to Parley, did not doubt but that she should bring them also to Capitulate, especially when she saw the Queen was appeased, and told his Royal Highness, *That she was infinitely oblig'd to him, and would do what her Council judg'd most proper and reasonable.* This Council, which was only a specious Name, consisted only of the Cardinal, the Keeper of the Seals, *Tellier* and *Servien*.

* Anthony Barbarini, Nephew to Urban the 8th, created Cardinal 1628, made Protector of the Crown of France 1633. and Great Almoner of the Kingdom, 1653. He was afterwards Bishop of Poitiers, and lastly, Archbishop of Rheims, 1657, died 1671.

The Affair was proposed to the Council by the Cardinal, concluding with a most submissive Petition to the Queen, to condescend to the Demand of the Duke of Orleans, and to what the Services and Merits of the Coadjutor demanded, with greater Importunity. The Proposition was rejected with so much Resolution and Contempt, as is very unusual in Council, in Opposition to a Prime Minister. *Tellier* and *Servien* thought it sufficient not to applaud him; but the Keeper of the Seals quite forgot his Respect for the Cardinal, accused him of Prevarication and Weakness, and threw himself at her Majesty's Feet, conjuring her, in the Name of the King her Son, not to authorize by an Example, which he called Fatal, the Insolence of a Subject, who was for wresting Favours from his Sovereign with Sword in Hand. The Queen was moved at this, and the poor Cardinal own'd he had been too easie and pliant.

I had my self given a very natural Handle to my Adversaries to expose me so egregiously. I have been guilty of many Blunders; But I think this is the grossest that I ever was guilty of in all my Life. I have frequently made this Observation: *That when Men have, through fear of Miscarriage, hesitated a long time about any Undertaking of Consequence, the remaining Impressions of their Fear do commonly push them afterwards with too much Precipitancy upon the Execution of their Design.* And this was my Case. It was with the greatest Reluctancy, that I was determin'd to accept of the Cardinal Dignity, because I thought it too mean to form a Pretension to it without certainty of Success; and no sooner was I engaged in the Pursuit of it, but the Impression of the former fearful Ideas hurry'd me on as it were, to the End I might get as soon as possible out of the disagreeable State of Uncertainty.

The Cardinal would have paid my Debts, given me the Place of Grand Almoner, &c. But if he had added twelve Cardinal Hats into the Bargain, I should have begg'd his excuse. I was now engaged with Monsieur, who was, in short, resolved upon the Enlargement of the Princes from their Confinement.

Cardinal

Cardinal Mazarin, after his return to *Paris*, made it his chief Study to divide the *Fronde*. He thought to weaken my Interest very much with Monsieur, by detaching from me Madame *de Chevreuse*, for whom he had a natural Tenderness, and to give me a mortal Blow, by embroiling me with Mademoiselle her Daughter. To do this effectually, he raised me a Rival, who, he hoped, would please her better; viz. Monsieur *d' Aumale*, beautiful as an Angel, and one who was very likely to suit the Temper of Mademoiselle *de Chevreuse*. He had intirely devoted himself to the Cardinal's Interest, looked upon himself very much honoured by this Commission, and haunted the Palace of *Chevreuse* so diligently, that I did not doubt but he was sent thither to act the second Part of the Comedy, which had miscarried so shamefully in the Hands of Monsieur *de Candale*. I watch'd all his Motions, and complain'd to Mademoiselle *de Chevreuse*; but she gave me indirect Answers: I began to be out of Humour; and was soon appeased. I grew peevish again. And Mademoiselle *de Chevreuse* telling in his Presence, to please me, and to sting him, that she could not imagine, how it was possible to bear a silly Fellow. *Paradon me, Mademoiselle*, replied I, *we suffer Fops sometimes very patiently for the sake of their Extravagancies*. This Lord was notoriously Foppish and Extravagant. My Answer pleased, and we soon got rid of him at the Palace of *Chevreuse*. But he thought to have dispatch'd me; for he hired one *Grandmaison*, a Russian, to assassinate me, who appris'd me of his Design. And the first Time I met M. *d' Aumale*, (which was at the Duke of Orleans's House) I did not fail to let him know it; but I told it him with a Whisper, saying, *I had too much Respect for the House of Savoy, to publish it to the World*. He deny'd the Fact; but in such a manner, as made it more evident, because he conjur'd me to keep it secret. I gave him my Word, and I kept it.

Madame *de Guimene*, with whom I had several Quarrels, propos'd to the Queen likewise to dispatch me, by shutting me up in a Green-House in her Garden, which she might easily have done, because I often went to her
alone

alone by Night ; but the Cardinal fearing that the People would have suspected him for the Author of my sudden Disappearance, would not come into the Project, so it was dropp'd.

To return to our Negotiations for the Freedom of the Princes. The Duke of *Orleans* was with much Difficulty induced to sign the Treaty, by which a Marriage was stipulated between *Mademoiselle de Chevreuse* and the Prince of *Conti*, and a promise not to oppose my Promotion to the Dignity of a Cardinal. The Princes were as active in the whole Course of these Negotiations, at if they had been at Liberty. We writ to them, and they to us ; and a regular Correspondence between *Paris* and *Lions* was never better established than then. * *Bar*, their Warder, was a very shallow Fellow ; besides, Men of Sense are sometimes outwitted.

Cardinal *Mazarin*, upon his return with the King from *Guienne*, was hugely pleas'd with the Acclamations of the Mob ; but he soon grew weary of them, for the *Frondeurs* still kept the Wall.

The Cardinal being continually teiz'd at *Paris* by the Abbot *Fouquet*, who sought to make himself necessary, and being so vain as to think himself qualify'd to command an Army, march'd abruptly out of *Paris* for *Champaign*, with a Design to retake *Rethel* and *Chateau-Portien*, of which the Enemies were possess'd, and where Monsieur de *Turenne* propos'd to Winter.

On the Feast of St. *Martin*, the first President and the Attorney General *Talon* exhorted the Parliament to be peaceable, that the Enemies of the State mighty have no Advantage. A Petition was read from Madame the Princess, desiring that the Princes might be brought to the *Louvre*, and remain in the Custody of one of the King's Officers, and that the Solicitor General might be sent for, to know what he had to alledge against their In-

* *Bar* was according to Monsieur *Joli*, an unsociable Man, who was for raising his Fortune by using the Princes ill, and who, on that Occasion, was often the Dupe of *Montreuil*, Secretary to the Prince of *Conti*. See *Joli's Memoirs*. Vol. I. p. 88.

nocence; but that in case he should have nothing solid to offer, they might be set at Liberty.

The Chambers being assembled on the 7th of December, to take the Affair into Consideration, *Talon*, the Attorney General, acquainted the House, that the Queen had sent for the King's Council, and ordered them to let the Parliament know, that it was her Pleasure that the House should not take any Cognizance of the Princess's Petition; because every thing that had relation to the Confinement of the Princes, belonged to the Royal Authority. *Talon* made a motion, that the Parliament should depute some Members to carry the Petition to the Queen, and to beseech her Majesty to take it into her Consideration. At the same time another Petition was presented from *Mademoiselle de Longueville*, for the Liberty of the Duke her Father, and that she might have leave to stay in *Paris* to solicit it.

No sooner was this Petition read, but a Letter from the three Princes was presented and read, praying that they might be brought to Tryal, or set at Liberty.

On the 9th Day of the Month, an Order was brought to the Parliament from the King, commanding the House to supersede all Deliberations on this Subject, till they had first sent their Deputies to Court to know his Majesty's Pleasure.

Deputies were sent immediately, to whom accordingly the Queen gave them Audience in Bed, telling them that she was very much indisposed. The Keeper of the Seals added, that 'twas the King's Pleasure that the Parliament should not meet at all till such time as the Queen, his Mother, had recover'd her Health.

On the 10th, the House resolved to adjourn only to the 14th, and on that Day a General Procession was proposed to the Archbishop by the Dean of Parliament, to beg that God would inspire them with such Counsels only, as might be for the Good of the Publick.

On the 14th, they receiv'd the King's Letter, forbidding their Debates, and acquainting them, that the Queen would satisfy them very speedily about the Affair of the Princes; but this Letter was disregarded. They sent

sent a Deputation to invite the Duke of *Orleans* to come to the House; but after consulting with the Queen, he told the Deputies, that he did not care to go; that the Assembly was too noisie; that he could not divine what they would be at; that the Affairs in Debate were never known to fall under their Cognizance; and that they had nothing else to do, but to refer the said Petitions to the Queen.

On the 18th, News came that *Mareschal du Pleffis* had got a signal Victory over *Monfieur de Turenne*, who was coming to succour *Rethel*, but found it already surrender'd to *Mareschal du Pleffis*; and the *Spanish* Garrison endeavouring to retreat, was forced to an Engagement in the Plains of *Saumepeuis*; that about two thousand Men were killed upon the Spot, among the rest, a Brother of the *Electeur Palatine*, and six Colonels, and that there were near 4000 Prisoners, the most considerable of whom were several Persons of Note, and all the Colonels, besides 20 Colours, and 84 Standards. You may easily guess at the Consternation of the Princes Party, my House was all Night filled with the Lamentations of despairing Mourners; and I found the Duke of *Orleans* as it were struck dumb.

On the 19th, as I went to the Parliament-House, the People looked melancholy, dejected, and frightened out of their Wits. The Members were afraid to open their Mouths, and no Body would mention the Name of *Mazarin*, except *Menardeau Champre*, who spoke of him with Encomiums, by giving him the Honour of the Victory of *Rhetel*; and then he moved the House to entreat the Queen to put the Princes into the Hands of that good and wise Minister, who would be as careful of them as he had been hitherto of the State. I wonder'd most of all that this Man was not hiss'd in the House, but especially as he pass'd through the great Hall. This Circumstance, together with what I saw that Afternoon in every Street, convinced me how much our Friends were dispirited, and therefore I resolv'd next Day to raise their Courage. I knew the first President to be all of a Piece, and such Men greedily

dily swallow every new Appearance which confirms them in their first Impression. I knew likewise, the Cardinal to be a Man that supposed every Body had a back Door. *The only Way of dealing with Men of that Stamp is, to make them believe that you design to deceive those whom you earnestly endeavour to serve.* For this Reason, on the 20th, I declaim'd against the Disorders of the State; and shew'd that it having pleas'd Almighty God to bless his Majesty's Arms, and to remove the publick Enemy from our Frontiers, by the Victory lately gained over them by Mareschal *du Pleffis*; we ought now to apply our selves seriously to the Healing of the intestine Wounds of the State, which are the more dangerous, because they are less obvious. To this I thought fit to add, that I was obliged to mention the univerial Oppression of the Subjects, at a Time when we had nothing more to fear from the lately routed *Spaniards*; that as one of the Props of the publick Safety was the Preservation of the Royal Family, I could not, without the utmost Concern, see the Princes breathe the unwholesome Air of *Havre de Grace*; and that I was of Opinion, the House should humbly intreat the King to remove them, at least to some Place more healthy. At this Speech every Body resumed their Courage, and concluded that all was not yet lost. 'Twas observ'd, that the Peoples Countenances were alter'd. The People in the great Hall resumed their former Zeal, made the usual Acclamations as we went out, and I had that Day three Hundred Coaches of Visitors.

On the 22d, the Debate was continued, and 'twas more and more observ'd that the Parliament did not follow the Triumphant Chariot of Cardinal *Mazarin*, whose Imprudence in hazarding the Fate of the whole Kingdom in the last Battle, was set off with all the disadvantageous Colours that could be invented, to tarnish the Victory.

The 30th crown'd the Work, and produced an Arret for making most humble Remonstrances to the Queen for

for the Liberty of the Princes, and Mademoiselle de Longueville's staying in *Paris*.

It was further resolved to send a Deputation to the Duke of *Orleans*, to desire his Royal Highness to use his Interest on this Occasion in Favour of the said Princes.

The King's Council having waited on her Majesty with the Remonstrances aforesaid, she pretended to be under a Course of Physick, and put off the Matter a Week longer. The Duke of *Orleans* also gave an ambiguous Answer. The Queen's Course of Physick continued eight or ten Days longer than she imagined, or rather, than she said, and consequently the Remonstrances of the Parliament were not made till the 20th of *January*, 1651.

The 28th, the first President made his Report, and said, the Queen had promised to return an Answer in a few Days.

It happen'd very luckily for us at this Time, that the Imprudence of the Cardinal was greater than the Inconstancy of the Duke of *Orleans*; for a little before the Queen returned Answer to the Remonstrances, he talked very roughly to the Duke in the Queen's Presence, charging him with putting too much Confidence in me. The very Day that the Queen made the fore-said Answer, he spoke yet more arrogantly to the Duke in her Majesty's Apartment, comparing Monsieur de *Beaufort*, and me, to *Cromwell*, and *Fairfax*, in the House of Commons in *England*, and exclaim'd furiously in the King's Presence; so that he frightened the Duke, who was glad he got out of the King's Palace in a whole Skin, and said, that he would never put himself again in the Power of that furious Woman, meaning the Queen, because she had improved what the Cardinal had said to the King. I resolved to strike the Iron while it was hot, and joined with Monsieur *Beaufort*, to perswade his Royal Highness to declare himself the next Day in Parliament. We shewed him, that after what had lately passed, there was no safety for his Person; and if the King should go out of *Paris*,

as the Cardinal design'd, we should be engaged in a Civil War, whereof he alone, with the City of *Paris*, must bear the heavy Load. That it would be equally scandalous and dangerous for his Royal Highness, either to leave the Princes in Chains, after having treated with them, or by his dilatory Proceedings, suffer *Mazarin* to have all the Honour of setting them at Liberty; and that he ought by all Means to go to the Parliament-Houle.

The Dutchesse too seconded us, and upon his saying, that if he went to the House to declare against the Court, the Cardinal would be sure to take his Majesty out of *Paris*; The Dutchesse reply'd: *What, Sir, are you not Lieutenant-General of France? Don't you Command the Army? Are you not Master of the People? I'll undertake my self that the King shall not go out of Paris.* The Duke nevertheless remain'd inflexible; and all we could get out of him was, that he would consent I should tell the Parliament, in his Name, what we desired he should say himself. In a Word, he would have me make the Experiment, the Success of which he looked upon to be very uncertain, because he thought the Parliament would have nothing to say against the Queen's Answer; and that if I succeeded, he should reap the Honour of the Proposition. I readily accepted of the Commission, because all was at Stake, and if I had not executed it the next Morning, I am sure the Cardinal had eluded setting the Princes at Liberty a great while longer, and the Affair had ended in a Negotiation with them against the Duke. The Dutchesse, who saw that I expos'd my self for the Publick Good, pitied me very much. She did all she could to persuade the Duke to command me to mention to the Parliament what the Cardinal had told the King with relation to *Cromwell*, *Fairfax*, and the *English* Parliament, which, if declar'd in the Duke's Name, she thought would engage the House the more against *Mazarin*; and she was certainly in the Right. But he forbid me expressly.

I ran

I ran about all Night to dispose the Members at their first Meeting to murmur against the Queen's Answer, which in the main was very plausible, importing, that tho' this Affair did not fall within the Cognizance of Parliament, the Queen would however, out of her abundant Goodness, have regard to their Supplications, and restore the Princes to their Liberty. Besides, it promised a general Amnesty to all that had born Arms in their Favour; on Condition only that Monsieur de Turenne should lay down his Arms; that Madame de Longueville should renounce her Treaty with Spain; and that Steinai and Murzon should be evacuated.

At first the Parliament seem'd to be dazzled with it; but next Day, the first of *February*, the whole House was undeceiv'd, and wonder'd how they had been so deluded. The Court of Inquests began to murmur, *Viole* stood up and said, That the Queen's Answer was but a *Smare* laid for the Parliament, to amuse them; and that the 12th of *March*, the Time fixt for the King's Coronation, was just at Hand; and that as soon as the Court was out of *Paris*, they would laugh at the Parliament. At this Discourse, the old and new *Fronde* stood up, and when I saw they were in a great Heat, I wav'd my Cap, and said, " That the Duke
 " had commanded me to acquaint the House, that the
 " Regard he had for their Sentiments, having confirm'd
 " him in those he always naturally entertain'd of his
 " Cousins, he was resolv'd to concur with them for
 " procuring their Liberty, and to contribute every
 " thing in his Power to effect it;" and 'tis incredible what Influence few these Words had upon the whole Assembly. I was astonish'd at it my self. The wisest Senators seem'd as mad as the common People, and the People madder than ever. Their Acclamations exceeded whatever you can imagine, and indeed nothing less was sufficient to hearten the Duke, who had all Night been bringing forth new Projects with more sorrowful Pangs and Throws (as the Dutchess express'd it) than ever she felt in Labour with all her Children.

When

When he was fully informed of the good Success of his Declaration, he embrac'd me several Times before all the Company, and Monsieur *Tellier* going to wait on him from the Queen, to know if he own'd what I had spoke in his Name in the House: *Yes*, reply'd he, *I own, and always will own all that he shall say or act in my Name.* We thought, that after a solemn Declaration of this Nature, the Duke would not scruple to take all the necessary Precautions to prevent the Cardinal's carrying away the King; and to that end, the Dutchess did propose to have all the Gates of the City well guarded, under pretence of some popular Tumults. But he was deaf to all she said, pretending that he was loth to make his King a Prisoner.

But being urged very importunately by the Prince's Party, on the 2d of *February*, 1651, telling him that their Liberty depended on it; he told them, that he was going to do an Action which would remove all their Diffidence. He sent immediately for the Keeper of the Seals, *Mareschal Villeroy*, and *Tellier*; bid them tell the Queen, that he would never come to the Royal Palace, as long as *Mazarin* was there, and that he could no longer treat with a Man that ruin'd the State. And then turning towards *Mareschal Villeroy*; *I charge you*, said he, *with the King's Person; you shall be answerable for him to me.* I was sadly afraid this would be a means to hasten the King's Departure, which was what we dreaded most of all; and I wonder'd that the Cardinal did not remove after such a Declaration. I thought his Head was turn'd, and indeed I was told that he was beside himself for a Fortnight together.

The Duke having openly declar'd against *Mazarin*, and being resolv'd to attack and drive him out of the Kingdom, bid me acquaint the House next Day, in his Name, how the Cardinal had compar'd their Body to the Rump Parliament in *England*, and some of their Members to *Cromwell* and *Fairfax*. I improved this as much as possible, and I dare say, that so much Heat and Ferment was never seen in any Society before,

Some were for sending the Cardinal a personal Summons to appear on the Spot, to give an Account of his Administration; but the most moderate were for making most humble Remonstrances to the Queen for his Removal. You may easily guess what a Thunder-Clap this must be to the Court. The Queen desir'd the Duke that she might bring the Cardinal to his Royal Highness. His Answer was, That he did not think it for the Safety of his own Person. She offer'd to come alone to confer with his Highness, at the Palace of *Orleans*; but he excus'd himself with a great deal of Respect.

He sent Orders, an Hour after, to the Mareschals of *France*, to obey him only, as Lieutenant-General of the State; and likewise to the Provost of the Merchants, not to take up Arms, but only by his Authority. You'll wonder, without doubt, that after all this Noise, no Care was taken of the Gates of *Paris*, to prevent the King's Departure. The Dutcheß, who trembled at the Thoughts of it, daily redoubled her Endeavours to induce the Duke to secure the Gates of the City, but all to no purpose; for *Weak Minds are generally deficient in some Respect or other.*

On the 4th, the Duke came to the Parliament, and assur'd the Assembly of his Concurrence in every Thing to reform the State, and to procure the Liberty of the Princes, and the Cardinal's Removal. As soon as his Royal Highness had done speaking, the Master of the Ceremonies was admitted with a Letter from the King, which was read, and required the House to separate, and to send as many Deputies as they could to the Palace Royal, to hear the King's Will and Pleasure. Deputies were accordingly sent immediately, for whose Return, the Bulk of the Members staid in the Great Chamber. I was informed that this was one Trick, among others, concerted to Ruin me; and telling the Duke of *Orleans* of it, he said, that if the old Buffoon the Keeper, was concerned in such a Complication of Folly and Knavery, he deserv'd to be hang'd on one Side of *Mazarin*. But the Sequel shewed that I was not out in my Information.

As

As soon as the Deputies were come to the Royal Palace, the first President told the Queen, that the Parliament was extremely concerned that the Princes were still confined, notwithstanding her Royal Promise for setting them at Liberty. The Queen reply'd, that Mareschal Grammont was sent to release them, and to take the necessary Security of them, for the publick Tranquillity; but that she had sent for them, in relation to another Affair, which the Keeper of the Seals, would explain to them, and which he couch'd in a bloody Manifesto, in Substance as follows :

“ All the Reports made by the *Coadjutor* in Parliament were false, and invented by him : *He lies*, (this is the only Word the Queen added to what was already written,) he is a very wicked, dangerous Man, and gives the Duke very pernicious Advice; he wants to ruin the State, because we have refused to make him Cardinal, and has publicly boasted that he will set Fire to the four Corners of the Kingdom; and that he will have a hundred Thousand Men in a readiness, to dash out the Brains of those that shall attempt to put it out. The Expression was very harsh, and I am sure that I never said any thing like it; but it was of use at this time, to make the Cloud which was thickening over the Head of *Mazarin*, fall in a Storm upon mine. The Court saw the Parliament was assembled to pass an Arret for setting the Princes at Liberty, and that the Duke in Person was declaring against *Mazarin* in the grand Chamber, and therefore they believ'd, that a Diversion would be as practicable, as it was necessary; *viz.* to bring me upon my Tryal, in such a manner, as the Parliament could not refuse, nor secure me from the Raileries of the most inconsiderable Member. Every thing that tended to render the Attack plausible was made use of, as well as every thing that might weaken my Defence. The Writing was signed by the four Secretaries of State; and the better to defeat all that I could say in my Justification, the Count *de Brienne* was sent at the Heels of the Deputies, with an Order to desire the Duke of *Orleans* to come to a Conference with the Queen, in

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relation

relation to some few Difficulties that remain'd concerning the Liberty of the Princes.

When the Deputies were returned to Parliament, the first President began with reading the Paper which had been delivered to him against me; upon which, you might read Astonishment in every Face. *Menardeau*, who was to open the Trenches against me, was afraid of a Salvo from the great Hall, where he found such a Crowd of People, and heard so many Acclamations to the *Fronde*, and so many Imprecations against *Mazarin*, that he durst not open his Mouth against me, but contented himself with a pathetic Lamentation of the Division that was in the State, and especially in the Royal Family. The Counsellors were so Divided, that some of them were for appointing publick Prayers for two Days, others propos'd to desire his Royal Highness to take Care of the Publick Safety. I resolv'd to treat the Writing drawn up against me by the Cardinal as a Satyr and a Libel; and by some ingenious short Passage, to rouse up the Minds of the Hearers. As my Memory did not furnish me with any thing in ancient Authors that had any relation to my Subject, I made a small Discourse in the best *Latin* I was capable of, and then spoke thus.

“ Were it not for the profound Respect I bear to the
 “ Persons who have spoke before me, I could not for-
 “ bear complaining of their not crying out against a
 “ scurrilous Satyrical Paper, which was just now read,
 “ contrary to all Forms of Proceeding, and writ in the
 “ same Style as lately prophaned the sacred Name of
 “ the King, to encourage false Witnesses by Letters Pa-
 “ tents. I believe, they thought this Paper, which
 “ is but a Sally of the furious *Mazarin*, to be much
 “ beneath themselves and me. And that I may con-
 “ form my Opinion to theirs, I'll answer only by repeat-
 “ ing a Passage of an ancient Author. *In the worst*
 “ *of Times I did not forsake the City; in the most Pro-*
 “ *sperous, I had no particular Views; and in the most*
 “ *desperate Times of all I fear'd nothing.* I desire to be
 “ excused for running into this Digression. I move that
 “ you would make humble Remonstrances to the King,
 “ to desire him to dispatch an Order immediately for
 “ setting

“ setting the Princes at Liberty, to make a Declaration
“ in their Favour, and to remove Cardinal *Mazarin*
“ from his Person and Councils.

My Opinion was applauded both by the *Frondeurs* and the Princes Party, and carry'd almost *Nemine Contradicente*.

Talon, the Attorney General, did Wonders, I never heard or read any thing more Eloquent or Nervous. He invoked the Manes of *Henry* the Great, and, upon his Knees, recommended the Kingdom of *France* in general to the Protection of *St. Lewis*.

Brienne, who had been sent by the Queen, to desire an Interview with the Duke of *Orleans*, was dismiss'd with no other Answer, than that the Duke would come to pay his humble Duty to the Queen, as soon as the Princes were at liberty, and Cardinal *Mazarin* remov'd from the King's Person and Councils.

On the 5th of *February*, there was an Assembly of the Nobility at *Nemours*, for recovering their Privileges; I oppos'd it to the utmost of my Power; for I had experienc'd more than once, that nothing can be more pernicious to a Party, than to engage without any Necessity in such Affairs as have the bare Appearance of Faction; but I was oblig'd to comply. This Assembly however was so terrifying to the Court, that six Companies of the Guards were ordered to mount, with which the Duke of *Orleans* was so offended, that he sent in Quality of Lieutenant General of the State to the Officers, to receive no Orders but from himself. They answered very respectfully, but as Men devoted to the Queen's Interest.

On the 6th, the Duke having taken his Place in the Parliament, the King's Council acquainted the House, that having been sent to wait on her Majesty with the Remonstrances, her Majesty's Answer was, That no Person living wish'd more for the Liberty of the Princes than herself; but that it was reasonable at the same time to consult the Safety of the State. And that as for Cardinal *Mazarin*, she was resolv'd to entertain him in her Counsel, as long as she found his Assistance necessary

for the King's Service; and that it did not belong to the Parliament to concern themselves with any of her Ministers.

The first President was shrewdly attacked in the House for not being more resolute in speaking to the Queen. Some were for sending him back, to demand another Audience in the Afternoon; and the Duke of Orleans having said that the Mareschals of *France* were dependent on *Mazarin*, it was resolv'd immediately that they shou'd obey none but his Royal Highness.

I was inform'd that very Evening, that the Cardinal had made his escape out of *Paris* in Disguise, and that the Court was in a very great Consternation.

The Cardinal's Escape was the common Topick of Conversation, whereof different Reasons were assign'd, according to the various Interests of different Parties. As for my Part, I am very well perswaded, that Fear was the only Reason of his Flight, and that nothing else hindred him from taking the King and the Queen along with him. You'll see, in the sequel of this History, that he endeavour'd to get their Majesties out of *Paris* soon after he had made his escape, and that it was concerted in all probability before he left the Court; but I could never know the Reason why he did not put it in Execution, at a time when he had no reason to fear the least Opposition.

On the 17th, the Parliament ordered the Thanks of the House to be returned to the Queen for removing the Cardinal, and that she should be address'd to issue out an Order for setting the Princes at Liberty, and a Declaration for excluding all Foreigners for ever from the King's Council. The first President being deputed with the Message, the Queen told him, that she could return him no Answer till she had conferr'd with the Duke of Orleans, to whom she immediately deputed the Keeper of the Seals, Mareschal de Villeroy, and Tellier; but he told them, that he could not go to the Palace Royal, till the Princes were set at Liberty, and the Cardinal removed father off from Court. For he observ'd to the House, that the Cardinal was no farther off then at St. Germain, where

where he governed all the Kingdom as before ; that his Nephew and his Nieces were yet at Court ; and the Duke propos'd that the Parliament should humbly address the Queen, to explain herself, whether the Cardinal's Removal was for good and all. If I had not seen it, I could not have imagin'd what a Heat the House was in that Day. Some were for an Order, that there should be no Favourites in *France* for the future. They came at length into the Opinion of his Royal Highness, viz. to address the Queen to explain herself with relation to the Removal of Cardinal *Mazarin*, and to solicit Orders for the Liberty of the Princes.

On the same Day, the Queen sent again to desire the Duke of *Orleans* to come and take his Place in Council, and to tell him, that in Case he did not think it convenient, she would send the Keeper of the Seals to concert necessary Measures with him for setting the Princes at Liberty. His Royal Highness accepted of the second, but rejected the first Proposal, and treated M. d' *Elbeuf* roughly, because he was very pressing with his Royal Highness to go to the King's Palace. The Messengers did likewise acquaint the Duke, that they were ordered to assure him, that the Removal of the Cardinal was for ever. You'll see presently, that in all probability, had his Royal Highness gone that Day to Court, the Queen had left *Paris*, and carried the Duke along with her.

On the 19th, the Parliament Decreed, that in Pursuance of the Queen's Declaration, the Cardinal should, within the Space of Fifteen Days, depart his Majesty's Dominions, with all his Relations and Foreign Servants, otherwise, they should be proceeded against as Outlaws, and it should be lawful for any Body to dispatch them out of the Way.

I had a violent Suspicion that the King would leave *Paris* that very Day, and I was almost asleep when I was sent for to the Duke of *Orleans*, whom Mademoiselle de *Chevreuse* was come to awake in the mean time ; and while I was Dressing, one of her Pages brought me a Note from her, containing only these few Words, *Make hast to Luxemburg, and be upon your Guard in the*

Way. I found Mademoiselle de Chevreuse in his Chamber, who acquainted me, that the King was got out of Bed, and had his Boots on ready for a Journey from *Paris*.

I waited on the Duke, and said, There is but one Remedy, which is, to secure the Gates of *Paris*. Yet all that we could obtain of him was, to send the Captain of the *Swiss* Guards to wait on the Queen, and desire her Majesty to weigh the Consequences of an Action of that Nature. His Dutchess perceiving that this Expedient, if not supported effectually, would ruine all, and that his Royal Highness was still as irresolute as ever, she called for Pen and Ink that lay upon the Table in her Cabinet, and wrote these Words in a great Sheet of Paper.

Monsieur the Coadjutor is ordered to take Arms, to hinder the Adherents of Cardinal Mazarin, condemned by the Parliament, from carrying the King out of Paris.

Margaret de Lorraine.

Des Touches, who found the Queen bathed in Tears, was charged by her Majesty to assure the Duke of *Orleans*, that she never thought of carrying away the King, and that 'twas one of my Fetches.

The Duke of *Orleans* saying at the House next Day, that Orders for the Princes Liberty would be dispatched in two Hours time; the first President said, with a deep Sigh, *The Prince of Conde is at Liberty, but our King, our Sovereign Lord and King, is a Prisoner.* The Duke of *Orleans* being now not near so timorous as before, because he had receiv'd more Acclamations in the Streets than ever, replied, *That truly the King had been Mazarin's Prisoner, but God be praised, he was now in better Hands.*

The Cardinal, who hovered about *Paris* till he heard the City had taken up Arms, posted to *Havre de Grace*, where he fawned upon the Prince of *Conde* with a Meanness of Spirit that is hardly to be imagin'd; for he wept, and even fell down on his Knees to the Prince, who treated

treated him with the utmost Contempt, giving him no Thanks for his Release.

On the 16th of *February*, the Princes being set at Liberty, arriv'd at *Paris*, and after waiting on the Queen, supp'd with *Beaufort* and me at the Duke of *Orleans's* House, where we drank the *King's Health*, and *No Mazarin*.

On the 17th, his Royal Highness carried them to the Parliament House, and 'tis remarkable, that the same People, who but 13 Months before made Bonfires for their Confinements, did the same now, for their Enlargement.

On the 20th, the Declaration demanded of the King against the Cardinal, being brought to be Register'd in Parliament, was sent back with fury, because the Reason of his Removal was colour'd over with so many Encomiums, that it was a perfect Panegyric. And honest *Broussel*, who always went greater Lengths than any Body, was for excluding all Cardinals out of the Ministry, as well as Foreigners in general, *because they swear Allegiance to the Pope*. The first President thinking to mortifie me, cry'd up *Broussel* for a Man of admirable good Sense, and espoused his Opinion, and the Prince of *Conde* too, seem'd to be overjoy'd, saying, *It was a charming Eccho*. Indeed, I might well be troubled to think that the very Day after a Treaty, wherein the Duke of *Orleans* declared that he was resolv'd to make me a Cardinal, the Prince should second a Proposition so diminutive of that Dignity. But the Truth is, the Prince had no Hand in it, for it came naturally, and was supported for no other Reason, but because nothing that was brought as an Argument against *Mazarin*, could then fail of being approved at the same Time. I had some Reason to think, the Motion was concerted beforehand by my Enemies, to keep me out of the Ministry. Nevertheless I was not offended with the Parliament, the Bulk of whom I knew to be my Friends, whose sole Aim was, effectually to demolish *Mazarin*, and I acquiesced in the solid Satisfaction which I had in being consider'd in the World, as the Expeller of *Mazarin*.

whom every Body hated, and the Deliverer of the Princes, who were as much their Darlings.

The continual Chicanery of the Court, provoked the Parliament of *Paris* to write to all the Parliaments of *France*, to issue out Arrets against Cardinal *Mazarin*, which they did accordingly : They oblig'd the Court to issue out a Declaration, setting forth the Innocence of the Princes, and another for the Exclusion of Cardinals, as well *French* as Foreigners, from the King's Council ; and the Parliament had no rest till the Cardinal retired from *Sedan* to *Breule*, a House belonging to the Elector of *Cologn*.

I had Advice sent me from the Dutches of *Orleans*, to be upon my Guard, and that she was ready to die with fear, lest the Duke should be forc'd, by the daily Menaces of the Court, to abandon me. I thereupon waited on the Duke and told him, that having had the Honour and Satisfaction of serving his Royal Highness in two Affairs, which he had most at Heart, *viz.* the Expelling *Mazarin*, and Releasing the Princes, his Cousins, I found my self now oblig'd to re-assume the Functions of my Profession ; that the present Opportunity seem'd both to favour and invite my Retreat, and if I neglected it, I should be the most imprudent Man living ; because my Presence for the future, would not only be useless, but even prejudicial to his Royal Highness, whom I knew to be daily importuned and teiz'd by the Court Party meerly upon my Account, and therefore I conjur'd him to make himself easie, and give me leave to retire to my Cloister. The Duke spared no kind Words to retain me in his Service, promised never to forsake me, confess'd that he had been urg'd to it by the Queen ; and that tho' his Reunion with her Majesty and the Princes, oblig'd him to put on the Face of Friendship, yet he could never forget the bloody Affronts and Injuries which he had receiv'd from the Court. But all this could not dissuade me ; and the Duke at last gave his Approbation, with repeated Assurances, to allow me a Place next his Heart, and to correspond with me in Secret.

Having

Having taken my leave of the Princes, I retired accordingly to my Cloister of *Notre Dame*, where I did not trust Providence so far as to omit the Use of human Means for defending my self against the Insults of my Enemies.

Except the Visits which I paid in the Night-time at the *Hotel de Chevreuse*, I convers'd with none but Canons and Curates. I was the Object of Raillery both at Court, and at the Palace of *Conde*. And because I had set up a Bird-Cage at a Window, it became a common Jest, that the *Coadjutor* whistled to the *Linnets*. The Disposition of *Paris* however made me amends for the Raillery of the Court, I found my self mighty well, while other People were very uneasie. The Curates, Parish Priests, and even the Mendicants, inform'd themselves with Diligence of the Negotiations of the Prince of *Conde*. I gave Monsieur *Beaufort* a Thrust now and then, which he knew not how to parry with all his Cunning: And the Duke of *Orleans*, who, in his Heart was enrag'd against the Court, continued his Correspondence with me very faithfully.

Soon after, the Mareschal *du Pleffis* came to me at Midnight, and Embrac'd me, saying, *I greet you as our Prime Minister*. And when he saw I smiled, he added, *I don't jest, you may be so if you please. The Queen has order'd me to tell you, that she puts the King and the Crown into your Hands*. He shew'd me a Letter, writ with the Cardinal's own Hand to the Queen, which concluded thus: " You know, Madame, that the greatest
" Enemy I have in the World, is the *Coadjutor*; make
" use of him, rather than treat with the Prince upon
" those Conditions he demands. Make him a Cardinal,
" give him my Place, and lodge him in my Apartment.
" Perhaps he will be still more attach'd to the Duke of
" *Orleans*, than to your Majesty; but the Duke is not
" for the Ruine of the State. His Intentions in the
" main are not bad; in a Word, Madame, do any
" thing rather than grant the Prince his Demand, to have
" the Government of *Provence* added to that of *Guien-*
" *ne*." I told the Mareschal, that I could not but be
highly

highly obliged to his Eminence, and that I was under infinite Obligations to the Queen; and to shew my Gratitude, I humbly begg'd her Majesty to permit me to serve her without any private Interest of my own; that I was very incapable for the Place of Prime Minister upon many Accounts; beside, that it was not consistent with her Majesty's Dignity, to raise a Man to that high Post, who was still reaking as it were with the Fumes of Faction.

“ But, said the Mareschal, the Place must be filled by some Body. And as long as it is vacant, the Prince will be always urging that Cardinal *Mazarin* is to have it again. “ You have, said I, Persons much fitter for it than me. Then he shew'd me a Writing signed by the Queen, promising me all manner of Security if I would come to Court. I went thither at Midnight, according to Agreement; and the Mareschal, who introduced me to the Queen by the back Stairs, being withdrawn, her Majesty used all the Arguments she could to persuade me to accept the Place of chief Minister, which I was determin'd to refuse, because I found that she had the Cardinal at Heart more than ever; for as soon as she saw I would not accept of the Post of Premier Minister, she offer'd me the Cardinal's Cap, but with this Proviso, that I would use my utmost Endeavours, towards the Restoration of Cardinal *Mazarin*. Then I judg'd it high time for me to speak my Mind, which I did as follows:

“ 'Tis a great Affliction to me, Madame, that Publick Affairs are reduced to such a pass, as not only warrants, but even commands a Subject to speak to his Sovereign, in the Style with which I am now to address your Majesty. It is best known to you, that one of my worst Crimes in the Cardinal's Account is, that I foretold all these Things, and I have pass'd for the Author of what I was only the Prophet. Your Majesty would fain extricate your self with Honour, and you are in the right; but permit me to tell you, as my Opinion, that it can never be effected, so long

— as

“ as your Majesty entertains any Thoughts of Re-esta-
“ blishing *Mazarin*. I should fail in the Respect I owe
“ to your Majesty, if I pretended to thwart your Ma-
“ jesty’s Opinion, with regard to the Cardinal, any
“ other Way, than with my most humble Remon-
“ strances ; but I humbly conceive, I do but dis-
“ charge my bounden Duty, while I respectfully repre-
“ sent to your Majesty, wherein I may be serviceable or
“ useless to you at this critical Juncture. Your Majesty
“ has the Prince to cope with, who indeed is for the Re-
“ storation of the Cardinal, but upon Condition, that
“ you give him such a Power beforehand, as will enable
“ him to ruine him at Pleasure. To resist the Prince,
“ you want the Duke of *Orleans*, who is absolutely
“ against the Cardinal’s Re-establishment, and who, pro-
“ vided he be excluded, will do what your Majesty
“ pleases to command him. You’ll neither satisfy the
“ Prince, nor the Duke. I am extremely desirous to
“ serve your Majesty against the one, and with the other,
“ but I can do neither the one nor the other, without
“ making use of proper Means for obtaining those two
“ different Ends. *Come over to me*, said she, *and I*
“ *shall not care a Rush for all the Duke can do.*

I answered : “ Should I do so, and should it appear
“ ever so little that I was on Terms of Reconciliation
“ with the Cardinal, I could neither serve your Majesty
“ with the Duke, nor the People, for both would hate
“ me mortally, and I should be as useless to your Maje-
“ sty as the Bishop of *Dole*. At this the Queen was
very angry, and said, *Heavens bless my Son, the King,*
for he is deserted by all the World. She said, *I do all*
I can for you, I offer you a Place in my Council, I offer
you the Cardinalship, pray what will you do for me? I
said : “ That I did not come hither to receive Favours ;
“ but to try to merit them. At this the Queen’s Coun-
tenance began to brighten, and she said very softly,
What is it then that you’ll do? Madame, said I, I’ll
“ oblige the Prince, before a Week’s at an end, to
“ leave *Paris*; and I’ll take off the Duke from
“ his Interest to Morrow. The Queen, overjoy’d,
held:

held out her Hand, and said, *Give me yours, and I promise you, that you shall be Cardinal the next Day, and the second Man in my Friendship.* She desir'd also, that *Maxarin* and I might be good Friends; but I answer'd, that the least touch upon that String would put me out of Tune, and render me incapable of doing her any Service; therefore I conjur'd her, to let me still enjoy the Character of being his Enemy. *Was any thing,* said the Queen, *ever so strange and unaccountable: Cannot you possibly serve me, without being the Enemy of him, in whom I must confide.* I told her, it must needs be so. *Madame,* said I, “ I humbly beseech your Majesty to
 “ let me tell you, that as long as the Place of first Mini-
 “ ster is not filled up, the Prince will increase in Power,
 “ on Pretence, that 'tis kept vacant to receive the Cardi-
 “ nal by a speedy Restoration.

You see, said her Majesty, how the Prince treats me, he has insulted me ever since I disown'd my two Traytors, *viz. Servien and Lionne.* I took the Opportunity while she was flush'd with Anger, to make my Court to her, by saying, *that before two Days were at an end, the Prince should Affront her no longer.* But the Tenderness she had for her beloved Cardinal, made her unwilling to consent that I should continue to exclaim against his Eminence in Parliament, where one was oblig'd to handle him very roughly almost every quarter of an Hour. She bid me remember, that 'twas the Cardinal that had solicited for my Nomination. I answer'd, that I was highly oblig'd to his Eminence upon that score, and that I was ready to give him Proofs of my Acknowledgment, in any thing wherein my Honour was not concern'd; but that I should be a double Dealer, if I promised to contribute to his Re-establishment. Then she said, *Go, you are a very Devil. See Madame Palatine, and let me hear from you the Night before you go to the Parliament.*

I don't think I was in the Wrong to refuse her Offer: *We must never jest with proffer'd Service, for if it be real, we can never embrace it too much; but if false, we can never keep off at too great a Distance.* I lament-
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ed to the Publick, the sad Condition of our Affairs, which had oblig'd me to leave my dear Retirement, where, after so much Disturbance and Confusion, I hop'd to enjoy comfortable Rest; that we were falling into a worse Condition than we were in before, because the State suffer'd more by the daily Negotiations carry'd on with *Mazarin*, than it had done by his Administration; and that the Queen was still buoy'd up with hopes of his Re-establishment.

The Prince of *Conde* having inflamed the Parliament, to make himself more formidable to the Queen and Court, some new Scenes were opened every Day. At one time they sent to the Provinces, to inform against the Cardinal. At another time, they made search after his Effects at *Paris*.

I went one Day with 400 Men in my Company, to the Parliament-House, where the Prince of *Conde* inveigh'd against the Exportation of Money out of the Kingdom by the Cardinal's Banker. But afterwards, I absented a while from Parliament, which made me suspected of being less an Enemy to the Cardinal, and I was pelted with a dozen or fifteen Libels in a Fortnights time, by a Fellow, whose Nose had been slit for writing a Lampoon against a Lady of Quality. I compos'd a short, but general Answer to all, intituled: *An Apology for the ancient and true Fronde*. There was a strong Paper War between the old and new *Fronde* for three or four Months, but afterwards they united in the Attack of *Mazarin*. There were above 60 Volumes of Tracts writ during the Civil War; but I am sure that there are not a hundred Sheets worth reading.

I was sent for again to another private Conference with the Queen, who dreading an Accommodation with the Prince of *Conde*, was for his being arrested, and advised me to consider how it might be done. It seems that Monsieur *Hoquincourt* had offer'd her to kill him in the Street, as the shortest Way to be rid of him, for she referr'd me to confer about it with *Hoquincourt*, who will, said she, *shew you a much surer Way*. The Queen never-

nevertheless, would not own she had ever such a Thought, tho' she was heard to say, *The Coadjutor is not a Man of so much Courage as I took him for.*

The next Day, I was acquainted, that the Queen could endure the Prince no longer, and that she had Advices, that he had form'd a Design to seize the King; that he had dispatch'd Orders to *Flanders*, to treat with the *Spaniards*, and that either he or she must be ruin'd: That she was not for shedding Blood, and that what *Hoquincourt* propos'd, was far from it; because he promis'd to secure the Prince without striking a Blow, if I would engage for the People.

The Parliament continued to prosecute *Mazarin*, who was convicted of embezzling nine Millions out of the publick Cash. The Prince assembled the Chambers, and perswaded them to issue out a new Arret against all those of the Court Party, who held Correspondence with the said Cardinal.

The Prince of *Conde* being uneasy to see *Mazarin's* Creatures still at Court, retired to *St. Maur*, the 6th of *July*, 1651. On the 7th. the Prince of *Conti* acquainted the Parliament with the Reasons of his Departure, and talk'd in general, of the Advices he had receiv'd from different Hands, of a Design the Court had formed against his Life, adding, that his Brother could not be safe at Court, as long as *Tellier*, *Servien*, and *Lionne*, were not remov'd. There was a very hot Debate in the ensuing Session, between the Prince of *Conti*, and the first President. The latter talk'd very warmly against his Retreat to *St. Maur*, and call'd it a melancholy Prelude to a Civil War. He hinted also, that the said Prince was the Author of the late Disturbances; upon which the Prince of *Conti* threaten'd, that had he been in any other Place, he would have taught him to observe the Respect due to Princes of the Blood. The first President said, that he did not fear his Threats, and that he had Reason to complain of his Royal Highness for presuming to interrupt him in a Place, where he represented the King's Person. Both Parties were ready to

go together by the Ears, and the Duke, who was very glad to see it, did not interpose till he could not avoid it, and then he told them both, that they should endeavour to keep their Temper.

On the 14th of *July*, an Arret was pass'd, upon a Motion made by the Duke of *Orleans*, that the Thanks of the Parliament should be presented to her Majesty, for her gracious Promise, that the Cardinal should never return. That she should be most humbly intreated to send a Declaration to Parliament, and likewise to give the Prince of *Conde* all the necessary Securities for his Return. And that those Persons who kept Correspondence with *Maxarin*, should be immediately prosecuted.

On the 18th, the first President carry'd the Remonstrances of the Parliament to the Queen; and tho' he took Care to keep within the Terms of the Arret, by not naming the Under-Ministers, yet he pointed 'em out in such a Manner, that the Queen complain'd bitterly, saying, that the first President was an unaccountable Man, and more vexatious than any of the Malecontents.

And when I took the Freedom to shew her, that the Representative of an Assembly could not, without Prevarication, but deliver the Thoughts of the whole Body, tho' they might be different from his own; She reply'd very angrily, *These are mere Republican Maxims.*

I will give you an Account of the Success of the Remonstrances, after I have related an Adventure to you which happen'd at the Parliament-House during these Debates.

The Curiosity of the Subject, drew thither a World of Ladies to hear what pass'd. Madame and Mademoiselle *de Chevreuse*, with many other Ladies, were there the Evening before the Arret pass'd; but they were singled out from the rest by one *Maillard*, a bawling Fellow, hired by the Prince's Party. As Ladies are commonly afraid of a Crowd, they stay'd till the Duke of *Orleans* and the rest were gone out; but
when

when they came into the Hall, they were hooted by twenty or thirty Raggamuffins of the same Quality with their Leader, who was a Cobler. I knew nothing of it till I came to the Palace of *Chevreuse*, where I found Madame *de Chevreuse* in a Rage, and her Daughter in Tears. I endeavour'd to comfort them, by assuring them that I would take Care to get the Scoundrels punish'd in an exemplary Manner that very Day. But these were too inconsiderable Victims to atone for such an Affront, and were therefore rejected with Indignation. The Blood of *Bourbon* only could make amends for the Injury done to that of *Lorrain*. These were the very Words of Madame *de Chevreuse*. They resolv'd at last upon this Expedient; *viz.* to go again next Morning to the House, but so well accompanied, as to be in a Condition of making themselves respected, and of giving the Prince of *Conti* to understand, that it was his Interest to keep his Party, for the future from committing the like Insolence. *Montrepor*, who happen'd to be with us, did all he could to convince the Ladies how dangerous it was to make a private Quarrel of a publick one, especially at a Time, when a Prince of the Blood might possibly lose his Life in the Fray. When he found that he could not prevail upon them, he us'd all Means to oblige me to put off my Resentment, for which end, he drew me aside to tell me, what Joy and Triumph it would be to my Enemies, to suffer myself to be captivated or led away by the Violence of the Ladies Passion. I made him the following Answer:

“ I am certainly to blame, both with Regard to my
 “ Profession, and on Account of my having my Hands
 “ full, to be so far engag'd with Mademoiselle *de*
 “ *Chevreuse*; but considering the Obligation I am under
 “ to her, and that 'tis too late to recede from it, I am
 “ in the right for demanding Satisfaction in this present
 “ Conjuncture. I will not by any means assassinate
 “ the Prince of *Conti*; but she may command me to
 “ do any Thing except poisoning or assassinating, and
 “ therefore speak no more to me on this Head.”

The

The Ladies went again therefore next Day, being accompanied with four Hundred Gentlemen, and above four Thousand of the most substantial Burghers. The Rabble that was hired to make a Clamour in the great Hall, sneak'd out of Sight, and the Prince of *Conti*, who had not been appriz'd of this Assembly, which was form'd with prodigious Secrecy, was fain to pass by Madame and Mademoiselle de *Chevreuse*, with Demonstrations of the profoundest Respect, and to suffer *Maillard*, who was caught on the Stairs of the Chappel, to be soundly cudgelled.

I return to the Issue of the Remonstrances. The Queen told the Deputies that she would next Morning send to the House a Declaration against Cardinal *Mazarin*.

On the 21st, the Prince of *Conde* came to Parliament, accompanied by Monsieur de *Rocheboucaut*, and fifty or sixty Gentlemen, and congratulated them upon the Removal of the Ministers; but said, that it could not be effectual, without inserting an Article in the Declaration which the Queen had promised to send to the Parliament. The first President said, that it would be both unjust and inconsistent with the Respect due to the Queen, to demand new Conditions of her every Day; that her Majesty's Promise, of which she had made the Parliament a Depositary, was a sufficient Security; that it were to be wish'd, the Prince had shewed a due Confidence therein, by repairing to the Royal Palace, rather than to a Court of Justice; and that the Post he was in obliged him to express his Surprise at such Conduct. The Prince reply'd, that the first President had no Reason to wonder at his great Precautions, since he (the Prince) knew, by late woful Experience, what it was to live in a Prison; and that it was notorious, that the Cardinal ruled now in the Cabinet more absolutely than ever he did before.

The Duke of *Orleans*, who was gone to *Limours*, on pretence of taking the Air, tho' on purpose to be absent from Parliament, being informed that the very Women cry'd at the King's Coach, *No Mazarin*; and that

that the Prince of *Conde* had met the King in the Ring, as well attended as his Majesty, was so frighted, that he returned to *Paris*, and, on the 2d of *August*, went to Parliament, where I appear'd with all my Friends, and a great Number of wealthy Citizens. The first President mightily extoll'd the Queen's Goodness, in making the Parliament the Depositary of her Promise, for the Security of the Prince, who, being there present, was ask'd by the first President, if he had waited on the King? The Prince answer'd, No; because he knew there would be Danger in it, having been well informed, that secret Conferences had been held to Arrest him; and that in a proper Time and Place he would name the Authors. The Prince added, that Messengers were continually going and coming betwixt the Court and *Mazarin* at *Breull*, and that *Mareschal d'Aumont* had Orders to cut the Regiments of *Conde*, *Conti*, and *Enguien* in Pieces, which was the only Reason, that had hindred them from joining the King's Army.

The first President told him, That he was sorry to see him there before he had waited on the King; and that it seem'd as if he was for setting up Altar against Altar. This nettled the Prince to that Degree, that he said, those that talk'd against him, had only Self-Interest in View. The first President deny'd that he had any such Aim, and said, that he was accountable to the King only for his Actions. Then he exaggerated the Danger of the State, from the unhappy Division of the Royal Family.

In fine, it was resolv'd *Nemine Contradicente*, that the Solicitor-General should be commissioned to prosecute those who had advis'd the Arresting of the Prince of *Conde*; that the Queen's Promise for the Safety of the Prince, should be Register'd; that his Royal Highness should be desir'd by the whole Assembly, to go and wait on the King; and that the Arrets pass'd against the Domesticks of *Mazarin*, should be put in Execution. The Prince, who seem'd very well satisfied, said, That nothing less than this could assure him of his Safety.

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The Duke of Orleans carried him to the King and the Queen, from whom he met with but a cold Reception.

At the Close of this Session, the Declaration against the Cardinal was read, and sent back to the Chancellor, because it was not inserted, that the Cardinal had hinder'd the Peace of *Munster*, and advis'd the King to undertake the Journey and Siege of *Bordeaux*, contrary to the Opinion of the Duke of Orleans.

The Queen, provoked by the Prince of *Conde's* Conduct, who rode through the Streets of *Paris* better attended than the King; and also by the Duke's, whom she found continually given to change; resolved in a Fit of Despair, to hazard all at once. Monsieur de *Chateaufort* flatter'd her Inclination in that Point, and she was confirmed in it by a fiery Dispatch from *Mazarin* at *Breuil*. She told the Duke of Orleans plainly, that she could no longer continue in her present Condition, demanded his express Declaration for or against her, and charg'd me, in his Presence, to keep the Promise I had made her, to declare openly against the Prince, if he continued to go on as he had begun.

Her Majesty was convinc'd that I acted sincerely for her Service, and that I made no Scruple to keep my Promise; and she condescended to make Apologies for the Distrusts she had entertain'd of my Conduct, and for the Injustice she own'd she had done me.

On the 19th, the Prince of *Conde* having tax'd me with being the Author of a Paper against him, which was read that Day in the House, said, he had a Paper, signed by the Duke of Orleans, which contain'd his Justification, and that he should be much oblig'd to the Parliament, if they would be pleas'd to desire her Majesty to name his Accusers, against whom he demanded Justice. As to the Paper of which he charg'd me with being the Author, he said, it was a Composition worthy of a Man who had advis'd the arming of the *Parisians*, and the Wrestring of the Seals from Him with whom the Queen had intrusted them.

The Prince of *Conti* was observed to press his Brother to resent what I said in my Defence; but he kept his Temper: For tho' I was very well accompanied, yet he was considerably superior to me in Number; so that if the Sword had been drawn, he must have had the Advantage. But I resolved to appear there the next Day, with a greater Retinue. The Queen was transported with Joy, to hear that there were Men, who had the Resolution to dispute the Wall with the Prince. * She ordered 30 *Gens d' Arms*, and as many Light Horse, to be posted where I pleased; I had 40 Men sent me pick'd out of the Serjeants and bravest Soldiers of one of the Regiments of Guards, and some of the Officers of the City Companies, assembled a great Number of substantial Burghers, who had all Pistols and Daggers under their Cloaks. I also sent many of my Men to the Eating-Houses thereabouts, so that the great Hall was as it were invested on every side with my Friends. I posted thirty Gentlemen as a Reserve, in a convenient Chamber, who, in Case of an Attack, were to assault the Party of the Prince in Flank and Rear. I had also laid up a Store of Grenadoes. In a Word, my Measures were so justly concerted, both within and without the Parliament-House, that *Pont Notre Dame*, and *Pont St. Michel*, that were passionately in my Interest, only waited for the Signal; so that in all likelihood, I could not fail of being Conqueror.

On the 21st in the Morning, all the Prince of *Conde's* humble Servants repaired to his House, and my Friends did the like to mine; particularly the Marquisses of *Rouillac* and *Camillac*, famous both for their Courage and Extravagancies. As soon as the latter saw *Rouillac*, he made me a low Bow in a withdrawing Posture, saying, Sir, I came to offer you my Service, but 'tis not reasonable

* The Queen, says Monsieur de Rochefoucault, in his Memoirs, was overjoyed to see two Men at Variance, whom in her Heart she hated almost equally. . . . Nevertheless, she seemed to Protect the Coadjutor, &c.

that the two greatest Fools in the Kingdom should be of the same Side. The Prince came to the House with a numerous Attendance, and tho I believe he had not so many as I, he had more Persons of Quality; for I had only the *Fronde* Nobility of my Side, except three or four, who, tho' in the Queen's Interest, were nevertheless my particular Friends; this Disadvantage however was abundantly made up, by the great Interest I had among the People, and the advantageous Posts I was possessed of. After the Prince had taken his Place, he said; That he was surpriz'd to see the Parliament-House look more like a Camp, than a Temple of Justice; that there were Posts taken, and Men under Command; and that he hoped there were not Men in the Kingdom so Insolent, as to dispute the Precedency with him. Whereupon I humbly begg'd his Pardon, and told him, that I believed there was not a Man in *France* so insolent as to do it; but that there were some who could not, nor indeed ought not, on Account of their Dignity, to yield the Precedency to any Man but the King. The Prince reply'd, that he would make me yield it to him. I told him, he would find it no easie Matter. Upon this there was a great Outcry, and the young Counsellors of both Parties interestted themselves in the Conteſts, which you see began pretty warmly. The Presidents interpos'd between us, conjuring him to have some regard to the Temple of Justice, and the Safety of the City, and desiring that all the Nobility, and others in the Hall that were armed, might be turned out. He approved of it, and bid Monsieur *de Rochefoucault* go and tell his Friends so from him. Upon which, I said, I'll order my Friends to withdraw also. Young *d' Avaux*, now President *de Mesmes*, than in the Prince's Interest, said, *What, Sir, are you armed? Without doubt*, said I; tho' I had better have held my Tongue; because an Inferiour ought to equal himself in Words to his Superiour, tho' he may equal him in Actions: Neither is it allowable in a Churchman, when armed, to confess it. There are some Things wherein Men are willing to be deceived. Actions very often vindicate Mens Reputations in what they do against the Dignity
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of their Profession; but nothing can justify Words that are inconsistent with their Character.

As I had desir'd my Friends to withdraw, and was entering into the Court of Judicature, I heard an Uproar in the Hall, of People crying out to Arms. I had a Mind to go back, to see what was the Matter; but I had not time to do it, for I found my self caught by the Neck between the Foldings of the Door, which *Rochefoucault* had shut upon me, crying out to Messieurs *Coligny* and *Ricouffe* to kill me. The * first thought he was not in earnest, and the other told him, he had no such Order from the Prince. Monsieur *Champlatreux*, running into the Hall, and seeing me in that Condition, push'd back Monsieur *Rochefoucault* vigorously, telling him, that a Murder of that Nature was horrible and scandalous. He open'd the Door, and let me in. But this was not the greatest Danger I was in, as you'll see, after I have told you the beginning and end of it.

Two or three of the Prince of *Conde's* Mob, cry'd out as soon as they saw me, *A Mazarin*. Two of the Prince's Soldiers drew their Swords, those next to them, cry'd out, *To your Arms*, and in a Trice, all were in a fighting Posture. My Friends drew their Swords, Daggers, and Pistols; and yet, as it were by a Miracle, they stopp'd their Hands on a sudden from Action; for that very Instant of Time, *Crenan*, who commanded a Company of the Prince of *Conti's* *Gens d'armes*, one of my old Friends, said to *Laigues*, What are we doing? Must we let the Prince of *Conde* and the *Coadjutor* be murder'd? *Whoever does not put up his Sword is a Rascal*. This Expression coming from a Man of great Courage and Reputation, every one did as he bad them. Nor is *Argenteuil's* Courage and presence of Mind to be less admired: He being near me when I was caught by the Neck, between the folding Doors, and observing

* This Action is very much disguised and softened in the *Memoirs* of *Rochefoucault*. Monsieur *Joly*, in his *Memoirs*, Vol. I, pag. 155, tells it almost in the same manner as the *Cardinal de Retz*.

one. * *Pecbe*, a bawling Fellow of the Prince's Party, looking for me with a Dagger in his Hand, screen'd me with his Cloak, and thereby saved my Life, which was in the more Danger, because my Friends, who supposed I was gone into the great Chamber, stay'd behind to engage with the Prince of Conde's Party. The Prince told me since, that 'twas well I kept on the Defensive, and that had the Noise in the Hall continued but a Minute longer, he had himself taken me by the Throat, and made me pay for all; but I am fully perswaded, that the Consequence had been fatal to both Parties, and that he himself had narrowly escaped.

As soon as I was re entered into the great Chamber, I told the first President, that I ow'd my Life to his Son, who, on that Occasion, did the most generous Action that a Man of Honour was capable of; because he was passionately attach'd to the Prince of Conde, and was perswaded, tho' without a Cause, that I was concerned in above Twenty Seditions against his Father, during the Siege of *Paris*. There are few Actions more Heroic than this, the Memory of which I shall carry to my Grave; and I added, that Monsieur *Rochefoucaut* had done all he could to murder me. † He answered me these very Words: *Thou Traytor, I don't care what becomes of thee.* I replied, *Very well, Friend Franchise, we gave him that nick Name in our Party, You are a Coward,* (I told a Lie, for he was certainly a brave Man) *and I am a Priest, but duelling is not allowed us.* Monsieur *de Brissac* threatened to cudgel him; and he to kick *Brissac*. The Presidents fearing these Words would end in Blows, got between us. The first President conjured the Prince pathetically, by the Blood of St. *Lewis*, not to defile that Temple with Blood, which he had given for the Preservation of Peace, and the Protection of

* Joly calls him the great Clamourer of the Prince. See his *Memoirs*, pag. 157.

† The Duke answered, as he says himself in his *Memoirs*, that Fear had disturb'd his Judgment, &c. See in the *Memoirs* of *Rochefoucaut*, the Relation of what pass'd since the Confinement of the Princes.

Justice; and exhorted me, by my sacred Character, not to contribute to the Massacre of the People whom God had committed to my Charge. The Prince and I sent out each two Gentlemen, to order our Friends and Servants to retire by different Ways. The Clock struck Ten; the House rose; and thus ended that Morning's Work, which had like to have ruined *Paris*.

You may easily guess what a Commotion *Paris* must needs be in all that Morning. Tradesmen worked in their Shops with their Muskets by them, and the Women were at Prayers in the Churches. Sadness sat on the Brows of all who were not actually engaged in either Party. The Prince, if we may believe the Count *Fiesque*, told him, *That Paris was like to be burnt that Day. What a fine Bonfire this would have been*, said he, *for the Cardinal! especially to see it lighted by the two greatest Enemies he had!* The Duke of Orleans, quite tir'd out with the Cries of the People, who ran frightened to his Palace, and fearing that the Commotion would not stop at the Parliament-House, made the Prince promise, that he would not go next Day to the Parliament with above five in Company, provided I would engage to carry no more. I begg'd his Royal Highness to excuse me, if I did not comply, because I should be wanting in my Respect to the Prince, with whom I ought not to make any Comparifon, and because I should be still exposed to a Pack of seditious Bawlers, who cry'd out against me, having no Laws, nor owning any Chief. I added, that 'twas only against this sort of People that I armed; that there was so little Comparifon between a private Gentleman and his Highness, that 500 Men were less to the Prince, than a single Lacquey to me. The Duke, who own'd I was in the right, went to the Queen, to represent to her the evil Consequences that would inevitably attend such Measures.

The Queen, who neither feared nor foresaw Dangers, made no Account of his Remonstrances, for she was glad in the main, of the Dangers which seemed to be so near at Hand. When *Bertet* and *Brachet*, who crept up in the Garrets of the Palace Royal, for Fear of having their Throats cut in the general Commotion, had made her

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sensible, that if the Prince and myself should perish in such a Juncture, it would occasion such a Confusion, that the very Name of *Mazarin* might become fatal to the Royal Family; she yielded at last rather to the Fears, than to the Reasons of Mankind, and consented to send an Order in the King's Name, to forbid both the Prince and me to go to the House. The first President, who was well assured that the Prince would not obey an Order of that Nature, which could not be forced upon him with Justice, because his Presence was Necessary in the Parliament, went to the Queen, and made her sensible, that it would be against all Justice and Equity to forbid the Prince to be present in an Assembly, where he went only to clear himself from a Crime laid to his Charge. He shewed her the Difference between the first Prince of the Blood, whose Presence would be necessary in that Conjunction, and a Coadjutor of *Paris*, who never had a Seat in the Parliament but by Courtesy.

The Queen yielded at last to these Reasons, and to the Instances of all the Court Ladies, who dreaded the Noise and Confusion which was like to be next Day in the Parliament House.

The Parliament met next Day, and resolved that all the Papers both of the Queen, Duke of *Orleans*, and the Prince of *Conde*, should be carried to the King and Queen; that her Majesty should be humbly intreated to smother the Affair; and that the Duke of *Orleans* should be desired to mediate an Accommodation.

As the Prince was coming out of the Parliament House, attended by a Multitude of his Friends, I met him in his Coach as I was at the Head of a Procession of 30 or 40 Curates of *Paris*, followed by a great Number of People. Upon my Approach, three or four of the Mob following the Prince, cried out, *A Mazarin*; but the Prince alighted, and * silenced them, and fell on his

* *M. Rochefoucault, in his Memoirs, says that the People abused the Coadjutor with scurrilous Language, and had torn him in Pieces, if the Prince had not order'd his Men to appease the Tumult.*

Knees, to receive my Blessing; which I gave him with my Cap on, and then pull'd it off in Obeisance.

The Queen was so well pleas'd with my prudent Conduct, that I can truly say, I was a Favourite for some Days. *Madame de Carignan* was telling her one Day, that I was very homely; to which the Queen reply'd, *He has a very fine Set of Teeth, and a Man can't be call'd homely that has this Ornament.* *Madame de Chevreuse* remember'd, that she had often heard the Queen say, that the Beauty of a Man consisted chiefly in his Teeth, because it was the only Beauty which was of any Use. Therefore she advis'd me to act my Part well, and she should not despair of Success. When you are with the Queen, says she, be serious: Look continually on her Hands: Storm against the Cardinal; and I'll take Care of the rest. I asked two or three Audiences of the Queen upon very trifling Occasions; followed *Madame's* Plan very punctually; and pushed my Uneasiness and Passion against the Cardinal even to Extravagance. The Queen, who was naturally a Coquet, understood those Airs, and acquainted *Madame* therewith, who pretended to be surprized: 'Indeed I have heard the Coadjutor, *said she*, talk of your Majesty whole Days with Delight; but if the Conversation happen'd to touch upon the Cardinal, he was no longer the same Man, and even rav'd against your Majesty; but immediately relented towards your Majesty, though never towards the Cardinal.'

Madame de Chevreuse, who was the Queen's Confident in her Nonage, gave me such a History of her early Days, as I cannot omit giving you, tho' I should have done it sooner. She told me, that the Queen was neither in Body nor Mind truly *Spanish*; that she neither had the Temperament nor the Vivacity of her Nation, but only the Coquetry of it, which she retain'd in Perfection: That *Monsieur Bellegarde*, a gallant old Gentleman, after the Fashion of *Henry the Third's* Court, pleas'd her till he was going to the Army, when he begg'd for one Favour before his Departure, which was, only to put her Hand to the Hilt of his Sword, a Compliment

pliment so insipid, that her Majesty was out of Conceit with him ever after. She approv'd the gallant manner of *M. de Montmorency*, much more than she lov'd his Person. The Aversion she had to the Pedantick Behaviour of Cardinal *Richelieu*, who in his Amours was as ridiculous, as he was in other Things excellent, made her irreconcilable to his Addresses. She had observed from the Beginning of the Regency, a great Inclination in the Queen for *Mazarin*, but that she had not been able to discover how far that Inclination went, because she (*Madame de Cheveruse*) had been banish'd the Court very soon after. And that upon her Return to *France*, after the Siege of *Paris*, the Queen was so reserv'd at first with her, that 'twas impossible for her to dive into her Secrets. That since she regain'd her Majesty's Favour, she had sometimes observ'd the same Airs in her, with regard to the Cardinal *Mazarin*, as she used to display formerly in Favour of the Duke of *Buckingham*, but at other times, she thought by some Circumstances, that there was no more between them than a League of Friendship. The chief Ground for her Conjecture, was the unpolite, and almost rude Way of the Cardinal's conversing with her Majesty. But however, said *Madame de Chevreuse*, when I reflect on the Queen's Humour, all this may admit of another Interpretation. *Buckingham* used to tell me formerly, that he had been in Love with three Queens, and was oblig'd to curb all the three; therefore I can't tell what to think of the Matter.

To resume the History of more public Affairs. I did not so far please my self with the Figure I made against Monsieur the Prince, (tho' I thought it very much for my Honour,) but I saw clearly that I stood on dangerous Precipices. *Whither are we going?* said I, to Monsieur *Bellevue*, who seem'd to be overjoy'd that Monsieur the Prince had not been able to devour me. *For whom do we Labour?* I know that we are oblig'd to act as we do; I know too that we can't do better; but should we rejoice at the fatal Necessity which pushes us on to exert an Action comparatively good, which will unavoidably end in a superlative evil? I understand you, said the

President, and will interrupt you for one Moment, to tell you what I learn'd of *Cromwell*, (whom he had known in *England*.) He told me one Day, That 'tis then we are mounting highest, when we don't know our selves whither we are going. You know, Sir, said I, to *Bellievre*, that I abhor *Cromwell*; and whatever is commonly reported of his great Parts, if he is of this Opinion, I must pronounce him a Fool. I mention this Dialogue to no other purpose, than to observe, how dangerous it is to talk disrespectfully of Men in high Posts; for it was carried to *Cromwell*, who remember'd it with a great deal of Resentment, on an Occasion which I shall mention hereafter, and said to *Monfieur de Bourdeaux*, Ambassador of *France*, then in *England*, I know but one Man in the World who despises me, and that is Cardinal de Retz. This Opinion of him had like to have cost me very dear. I return from this Digression.

The 31st, *Melay*, Valet de Chambre to the Cardinal, arriv'd with a Dispatch to the Queen, in which were these express Words: Give the Prince of Conde all the Declarations of his Innocence that he can desire, provided you can but amuse him, and hinder him from giving you the slip.

On the 4th, the Prince of Conde insisted in Parliament on a formal Arret for declaring his Innocence, which was granted, but deferr'd to be publish'd till the seventh of September, the Day that the King was declar'd a Major; on Pretence of rendering it more Authentique and Solemn by the King's Presence, but really to gain Time, and see what Influence the Splendor of Royal Majesty, which was to be clothed that Day with all the Advantages of Pomp, would have upon the Minds of the People.

But the Prince of Conde, who had Reason to mistrust both the *Fronde* and the Court, did not appear at the Ceremony, and sent the Prince of Conti to the King, to desire to be excus'd, because the Calumnies and Treacheries of his Enemies would not suffer him to come to the Palace; adding, that he kept away out of pure Respect to his Majesty. This last Expression, which seem'd to intimate,

intimate, that otherwise he might have gone thither without Danger, provok'd the Queen to that Degree, that she said, *The Prince or I, must perish.*

The Prince of *Conde* retir'd to *Bourges*, farther from Court. He was naturally averse to a Civil War, nor had his Adherents been more forward than himself, had they but found their respective Interests in his Accommodation with the Court; but this seem'd impracticable, wherefore they agreed upon a Civil War; because none of them believ'd himself Powerful enough to conclude a Peace. They know nothing of the Nature of Faction, who imagine the Head of a Party to be their Master. His true Interest is most commonly thwarted, even by the imaginary Interest of his Subalterns. And the worst on't is, that his own Honour sometimes, and generally Prudence, join with them against himself. The Passions and Discontents which reign'd then among the Friends of the Prince of *Conde*, ran so high, that they oblig'd themselves to abandon him, and form a third Party under the Authority of the Prince of *Conti*, in Case the Prince did accommodate his Affairs with the Court, according to a Proposition then made to him, in the Name of the Duke of *Orleans*. The Subdivision of Parties is generally the Ruine of all, especially when 'tis introduc'd by cunning Views, directly contrary to Prudence; and this is what the *Italians* call in Comedy, a Plot within a Plot: Or, a Wheel within a Wheel.





MEMOIRS

OF THE

Cardinal *De RETZ*, &c.

BOOK IV.

MADAME,

IN *December*, 1651, the Parliament came to the following Resolutions, *viz.* To send a Deputation to the King, to inform him of the Rumours of *Mazarin's* Return, and to beseech him to confirm the Royal Promise which he had made to his People upon that Head. To forbid all Governors to give the Cardinal Passage. To desire the King to acquaint the *Pope*, and other Princes, of the Reasons that had oblig'd him to remove the Cardinal; and to send to all the Parliaments of the Kingdom to make the like Arret.

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Some Body making a Motion that a Price might be set upon the Cardinal's Head, I and the rest of the Spiritual Counsellors retired; because Clergy-men are forbid by the Canons to give their Vote in Cases of Life and Death.

They agreed also to send Deputies to the King, to intreat him to write to the Elector of *Cologne*, to send the Cardinal out of his Country; and to forbid the Magistrates of all Cities to entertain any Troops sent to favour his Return, or any of his Kindred or Domesticks. A certain Counsellor, who said very judiciously, that the Soldiers assembling for *Mazarin* upon the Frontiers, would laugh at all the Arrets of Parliament, unless they were proclaim'd to them by good Musqueteers and Pikemen, was run down, as if he had talk'd Nonsense, and all the Clamour was, that it belonged only to the King to disband Soldiers.

The Duke of *Orleans* acquainted the House on the 29th, that Cardinal *Mazarin* was arriv'd at *Sedan*; that the Marechals *d'Hoquincourt* and *de la Ferte* were gone to join him with their Army, to bring him to Court, and that 'twas high time to oppose his Designs. Upon this, it was immediately resolv'd that Deputies should be dispatch'd forthwith to the King, that the Cardinal, and all his Adherents, should be declared guilty of high Treason; that the common People should be commanded to treat them as such wherever they met them; that his Library, and all his Household Stuff, should be sold; and that one Hundred and fifty Thousand Livres *premium*, should be given to any Man who should bring the said Cardinal either dead or alive. Upon this Expression, all the Ecclesiasticks retir'd, for the Reason abovemention'd.

A new Arret was pass'd on the 2d of *January* 1652, wherein it was decreed, that all the Parliaments of *France* should be invited to issue out their Arrets against *Mazarin*, conformable to the last; that two Counsellors more should be added to the four sent to guard the Rivers, and to arm the common People; and that the Troops

of the Duke of Orleans, should oppose the March of *Mazarin*.

On the 24th, the Deputies who had been at *Poitiers*, to remonstrate to the King against the Return of the Cardinal, made their Report in Parliament; that his Majesty, after having advised with the Queen, and her Council, returned for answer, that without doubt, when the Parliament issued their late Arrets, they did not know that Cardinal *Mazarin* had made no Levy of Soldiers, but by his Majesty's express Order; that it was he who commanded him to enter *France* with his Troops, and that therefore the King did not resent what the Company had done; but that on the other Hand, he did not doubt that when they had heard the Circumstances he had just mentioned, and knew moreover, that Cardinal *Mazarin* only desired an Opportunity to justify himself, they would not fail to give all his Subjects an exemplary Proof of the Obedience they ow'd to Him. The Parliament was highly provok'd, and next Day Resolv'd to admit no more Dukes, and Peers, and Mareschals of *France*, till the Cardinal was gone out of the Kingdom.

Mazarin arriving at Court again, determin'd the King to go to *Saumur*, tho' others advis'd him to march to *Guienne*, against the Prince of *Conde*, with whom the Duke of Orleans was now resolv'd to join Forces. The King went from *Saumur* to *Tours*, where the Archbishop of *Roan* carry'd Complaints to the King, in the Name of the Bishops there, against the Arrets of Parliament relating to the Cardinal.

The Duke of Orleans complain'd in Parliament against the Inconsistency of their Proceedings, and said, the King had sent him *Carte blanche*, in order to oblige him to consent to the Restoration of the Cardinal; but that nothing in the World could ever oblige him to it, nor even to divide from the Parliament. Yet their unaccountable Proceedings perplex'd him beyond Expression, so that he commanded, or rather permitted, Monsieur de *Beaufort* to put his Troops upon Action. And because I told him, that I thought, considering the Declarations he had so often repeated against *Mazarin*, his Conduct

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in giving Motion to his Troops against him, did not add so much to the Measure of the Disgust he had already given to the Court, that he need to apprehend much from it; he gave me for answer these memorable Words, which I have reflected upon a thousand Times. " If you, says he, had been born a Son of *France*, an Infant of *Spain*, a King of *Hungary*, or a Prince of *Wales*, you would not talk as you do. You must know, that with us Princes Words go for nothing, but that we never forget Actions. By to Morrow Noon, the Queen would not remember my Declarations against the Cardinal, if I would admit him to Morrow Morning; but if my Troops fire a Musket, she would not forgive me, tho' we were to live two Thousand Years hence.

In *February*, 1652, I was made a Cardinal, and was to receive the Hat, as all *French* Cardinals do, from the King. My Enemies, who thought to ruine my Credit with the Duke of *Orleans*, gave out that I had been oblig'd to the Court for my Dignity, attack'd me in Form as a secret Favourer of *Mazarin*; and while their Emissaries gained over such of the Dregs of the People as they could corrupt by Money, they were supported by all the Intrigues of the Cabinet. But the Duke, who knew better, only laugh'd at them; so that they confirmed me in his good Opinion, instead of supplanting me; because, in Cases of Slander, every Reflection that does not hurt the Person attacked, does him Service: I said to the Duke, that I wonder'd he was not wearied out with the silly Stories that were told him every Day against me, since they all harp'd upon one String. But he said, *Do you make no Account of the Pleasure one takes every Morning, in hearing how wicked Men are under the Cloak of a religious Zeal, and every Night, how silly they are under the Mask of Politicians?* But the Servants of the Prince of *Conde* gave out such Stories against me among the Populace, as had like to have done me much more Mischief. They had a Pack of bawling Fellows in Pay, who were more troublesome to me now, than they were formerly, when they did not dare to appear
before

before the numerous Retinue of Gentlemen and Livery Men that accompany'd me: For as I had not yet had the Cap, I was obliged, wherever I went, to go *incognito*, according to the Rules of the Ceremonial. Those Fellows said, that I had betray'd the Duke of Orleans, and that they would be the Death of me. I told the Duke, who was afraid they would murder me, that he should soon see how little those hired Mobs ought to be regarded. He offered me his Guards, but tho' the Marechal *d'Estampes* fell on his Knees in my Way to stop me, I went down Stairs with only two Persons in Company, and made directly towards the Incendiaries, demanding who was their Leader? Upon which, a Beggarly Fellow, with an old yellow Feather in his Hat, answer'd me insolently, *I am He*. Then I call'd out to the Guards at the Gate, saying, *Let me have this Rascal hang'd up at these Grates*. Upon this he made me a very low Bow, and said, " That he did not mean to
 " affront me; that he only came with his Comrades to
 " tell me of the Report that I design'd to carry the
 " Duke of Orleans to Court, and reconcile him with
 " *Mazarin*, that they did not believe it, that they were
 " at my Service, and ready to venture their Lives for
 " me, provided I would but promise them to be always
 " an honest Frondeur.

The Duke of Orleans took such Delight in conversing with me, that *Goulas*, the Secretary of his Orders, telling him, that all the Foreign Officers took mighty Umbrage at it; he took him up very sharply, and said: *Go to the Devil you and your Foreign Officers; if they were as good Frondeurs, as the Cardinal de Retz, they would be at their Posts, and not sitting in the Taverns of Paris*. There was such a strong Faction in the City of Orleans for the Court, that his Presence there was very necessary; but as it was much more so at *Paris*, the Duke was prevail'd upon by his Dutches to let her go thither. *M. Patru* was pleas'd to say, that as the Gates of *Jericho* fell at the sound of Trumpets, those of Orleans would open at the Sound of Fiddles, of which *M. de Roban*
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was reckoned a very passionate Admirer. But, in short, tho' the King was just at Hand with the Troops, and tho' M. Mole, Keeper of the Seals, was at the Gate, demanding Entrance for the King, the Dutchess passed the River in a Wherry, made the Watermen break down a little Postern, which had been wall'd up for a long Time, and marched with the Acclamations of Multitudes of the People directly to the Town-house, where the Magistrates were met to consult if they should admit the Keeper of the Seals. By this Means she turned the Scale, and Messieurs de Beaufort and de Nemours immediately join'd her.

The Prince of Conde arriving at *Paris* from *Guienne* on the 11th of *April*, the Magistrates had a Meeting in the Town-house, in which they resolved, that the Governor should wait on his Royal Highness, and tell him, that the Company thought it contrary to Order, to receive him into the City before he had cleared himself from the King's Declaration, which had been verified in Parliament against him.

The Duke of *Orleans*, who was overjoy'd at this Speech, said, that the Prince was only come to discourse with him about private Affairs, and that he would stay but 24 Hours at *Paris*. M. de *Chavigny* told the Duke, that the Prince was able to stand his Ground as long as he pleased, without being obliged to any body: And he got together a Mob of Scoundrels upon the *Pont-Neuf*, whose Fingers itched to be plundering the House of M. du *Plessis Guengaut*, and by whom the Duke was frightened to a great Degree.

The Reflexions I had Leisure to make upon my new Dignity, obliged me to take great Care of my Hat, whose dazling Flame Colour turns the Heads of many that are honoured with it. The most palpable of those Delusions, is the Claim of preceding Princes of the Blood, who may become our Masters the next Moment, and who at the same Time are generally the Masters of all our Kindred. I have a Veneration for the Cardinals of my Family, who made me suck in Humility after their Example with my Mother's Milk, and I found a
very

very happy Opportunity to practise it on the very Day that I received the News of my Promotion. *Chateau-Briant* told me, before a vast Number of People at my Levee: *Now we will pay our Respects no more to the best of them:* Which he said, because tho' I was upon ill Terms with the Prince of *Conde*, and tho' I always went well attended, yet I saluted him wherever I met him, with all the Respect due to him, on the Score of so many Titles. I said to him, *Pray pardon me, Sir, we will still pay our Respects to the great Men with more Complaisance than ever. God forbid, that the Red Hat should turn my Head to that Degree, as to make me dispute Precedency with the Princes of the Blood. 'Tis Honour enough for a Gentleman, to walk Side by Side with them.* This Expression, I verily believe, secured the Rank of Precedency to the Hat afterwards in the Kingdom of *France*, by the Courtesy of the Prince of *Conde*, and his Friendship for me.

Mademoiselle de Ghevreuse, the most fantastical Lady upon Earth, suspecting that I held a secret Correspondence with the Queen, could not forbear murmuring, and threatening what she would do. She said, I had declared to her 1000 Times, that I could not imagine how it was possible for any Body to be in Love with that *Swiss* Woman. In short, she work'd it about so, that the Queen had a Notion from some body or other, that I had called her by that Name: She never forgave me for it, as you will perceive in the Sequel. You may easily conceive that this Circumstance, which gave me no Encouragement to hope for a very gracious Reception at Court for the Time to come, did not weaken those Resolutions which I had already taken to retire from publick Business: The Place of my Retreat was agreeable enough; the Shadow of *Notre dame* Towers was a Refreshment to it; and moreover, the Cardinal's Hat shelter'd it from bad Weather: I had fine Ideas of the Sweetness of such a Retirement, and I would gladly have laid hold on it; but my Stars would not have it so. I return to my Narrative.

On the 12th of *April*, the Duke of *Orleans* took the Prince of *Conde* with him to the Parliament; whom they assured, that he had not, nor ever would have any other Intention, than to serve his King and Country; that he would always follow the Sentiments of the Parliament; and that he was willing to lay down his Arms, as soon as the Arrets against Cardinal *Mazarin* were put in Execution.

The President *Bailleul* said, that the Company always thought it an Honour to see the Prince of *Conde* in his Place, but that they could not dissemble their real Concern, to see his Hands stained with the Blood of the King's Soldiers, who were killed at *Blenau*. Upon this a Storm arose from the Benches of the Inquest, which fell with such Fury upon the poor President, that he had scarce Room to put in a Word for himself, for 50 or 60 Voices disown'd him at one Volley.

On the 13th, the Parliament agreed, that the Declaration made by the Duke of *Orleans* and the Prince, should be carried to the King; that the Remonstrances they had sent to the King, should likewise be sent to all the Sovereign Companies of *Paris*, and to all the Parliaments of the Kingdom, to invite them to send a Deputation also on their Part; and that a general Assembly should be immediately held at the Town-house, to which the Duke of *Orleans* and the Prince should be invited, to make the same Declarations as they made to the Parliament; and that in the mean time, the King's Declaration against Cardinal *Mazarin*, and all the Arrets passed against him, should be put in Execution.

The 13th of *May*, a Counsellor of Parliament, and Captain of his Ward, having brought his Company to the Palace for the ordinary Guard, was abandoned by all the Burghers that composed it, who said, they were not made to guard *Mazarins*.

The Mob, who at the same Time had like to have murder'd some of the Magistrates in the Streets, had nothing in their Mouths, but the Name and Services of Messieurs the Princes, who next Day disowned their humble Servants in the Assemblies of the several Courts, which,

which, tho' it gave Occasion to severe Arrets, which the Parliament issued at every turn against the Seditious, did not hinder the same Parliament from believing, that those who disowned the Sedition, were the Authors of it, and consequently did not lessen the Hatred which many private Men conceived against them. Such were the various and complicated Views every one had, considering the then Posture of Affairs, that I wrapp'd myself up, as one may say, in my great Dignities, to which I abandon'd the Hopes of my Fortune; and I remember, that one Day the President *Bellicourt* telling me, that I ought not to be so indolent: I answered him; " We are in a
 " great Storm, where, methinks, we all row against the
 " Wind: I have two good Oars in my Hands, one of
 " which is the Cardinal's Dignity, and the other the
 " Archiepiscopal: I am not willing to break them, and
 " all I have to do now is, to support my self.

At the same Time I had other Uneasinesses of a more private Nature; Mademoiselle *de Chevreuse* fell in Love with my Rival the Abbot *Fouquet*: Little *de Roys*, who was a very pretty *German* Lass at her House, advertised me of it; and made me amends for the Infidelity of the Mistress; whole Choice, to tell you the very Truth, did not mortifie me much, because she had nothing but Beauty, which cloyes when it comes alone. She cared for no body besides him she loved; but as she was never long in Love, so neither was it long that she was in Temper: She used her cast-off Lovers as she did her old Cloaths, which other Women lay aside, but she burnt; so that her Daughters had much ado to save a Petticoat, Headcloaths, Gloves or *Venice* Point. And I verily believe, that if she could have committed her Lovers to the Flames, when she left them off, she would have done it with all her Heart. Madame her Mother, who endeavour'd to set her at Variance with me, when she was resolv'd to unite herself intirely with the Court, could not succeed, tho' she went so far that Madame *de Guimene* caus'd a Letter to be read to her in my Hand, whereby I devoted my self, Body and Soul, to her, as Witches give themselves to the Devil.

It was at that Time, that Madame de Chevreuse seeing herself out of Play at *Paris*, resolved to retire to *Dampierre*, where depending upon what had been told her from Court, she hoped to be well received. I gave Vent to my Passion, which, in Truth, was not very great, to Mademoiselle de Chevreuse, and I took Care to have both the Mother and Daughter accompany'd out of *Paris*, quite to *Dampierre*, by all the Nobility and Gentlemen I had with me, I cannot finish this slight Sketch of the Condition I was in at *Paris*, without paying the Justice I owe to the Generosity of the Prince of *Conde*; who finding that a Person was come from the Prince of *Conti* at *Bordeaux*, with a Design to attack me, told him, that he would have him hang'd up, if he did not go back to his Master in two Hours Time.

Marigny told me almost at the same Time, that observing the Prince of *Conde* to be very intent upon reading a Book, he took the Liberty to tell him, that sure it must needs be a very Choice one, because he took such Delight in it; and that the Prince answered him, 'Tis true, I am very fond of it, for it shews me my Faults, which no Body has the Courage to tell me. This Book was intituled, *The Right and False Steps of the Prince of Conde and of the Cardinal de Retz*

There were divers Negotiations between the Parties, during which *Mazarin* gave himself the Pleasure of letting the Publick see Messieurs de *Roban*, de *Chavigny*, and de *Goulas*, conferring with him, both before the King, as well as in private, at that very Instant when the Duke of *Orleans* and the Prince of *Conde* said publicly in the Assembly of the Chambers, that it ought to be the Preliminary of all Treaties, to have nothing to do with *Mazarin*. He acted a perfect Comedy in their Presence, pretending to be forcibly detained by the King, whom he begged with folded Hands to let him return to *Italy*.

On the 30th of *April*, there was so great a murmuring in Parliament, that the Duke of *Orleans* said, they should never see him there again till the Cardinal was gone.

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On the 6th of *May*, the Remonstrances of the Parliament, and the Chamber of Accounts, were carried to the King with a great Body ; as were on the 7th those of the Court of Aids and the City : The King's Answer to both was, that he would cause his Troops to retire, when those of the Princes were gone.

On the 10th it was resolved, that the King's Council should be sent to St. *Germains*, for a further Answer touching the Removal of Cardinal *Mazarin* from the Court and Kingdom, and the Armies from the Neighbourhood of *Paris*.

The 14th, there was a great ado again in the Parliament, where there was a confused Clamour for taking into Consideration the most proper Means for hindring the Riots and Disorders, daily committed in the City, and in the Hall of the Palace ; upon which the Duke of *Orleans*, who was afraid lest that under this Pretence the *Mazarins* of Parliament should make the House take some Steps contrary to their Interests, came to the Palace on a sudden, and proposed that they should grant him a full Power.

The 29th, being the Day that the Deputies of the Inquests desired the Parliament to consider of Ways and Means for raising the 150,000 Livres, promised to him who should bring Cardinal *Mazarin* to Justice ; and the Archbishop's Grand Vicar coming up that Moment to the Bar of the King's Council, to confer about the Descent of the Shrine of St. *Genewieve*, a Member said very pleasantly : *We are this Day engaged in Devotion for a double Festival ; we are appointing Processions, and contriving how to murder a Cardinal.*

On the 20th of *June*, the King's Answer to the Parliament's Remonstrances, was reported in Substance : That tho' his Majesty was sensible, that the Demand of the Removal of Cardinal *Mazarin* was but a Pretence, yet he was willing to grant it, after Justice was done to the Cardinal's Honour, by such Reparations as were due to his Innocence, provided the Princes would give him good Security for the Performance of
their

their Proposals, upon the Removal of the said Cardinal: That therefore his Majesty desired to know, 1. Whether, in this Case, they will renounce all Leagues and Associations with Foreign Princes? 2. Whether they will not form new Pretensions? 3. Whether they will come to Court? 4. Whether they will dismiss all the Foreigners that are in the Kingdom? 5. Whether they will disband their Forces? 6. Whether *Bourdeaux* will return to its Duty, as well as the Prince of *Conti* and *Madame de Longueville*? 7. Whether the Places which the Prince of *Conde* has fortified, shall be put into the Condition they were in before the Breach?

The Duke of *Orleans*, provoked at these Propositions, said, it was never known that a Son of *France*, and a Prince of the Blood, were treated like common Criminals; and that the Declaration which both had made, was more than sufficient to satisfy the Court.

On the 21st, it was moved in Parliament, that an Inventory should be taken of what remain'd of *Mazarin's* Furniture. There having been in the Morning a great Commotion at the Palace, when the President and some others had like to have been kill'd by the Mob, *M. Beaufort* invited his Friends to meet him in the Afternoon in the Palace Royal, and having got together four or five Thousand Beggars, he exhorted them to the Obedience which they owed to the Parliament. But two or three Days after this fine Sermon of his, the Sedition was more violent than ever.

On the 25th, the Princes declared in Parliament, that as soon as the Cardinal was departed the Kingdom, they would faithfully execute all the Articles contained in the King's Answer, and immediately sent Deputies to compleat the rest.

On the 4th of *July*, a Mob assembled, who forced all that pass'd by to put a Handful of Straw in their Hats, upon which, the Duke of *Orleans* and the Prince of *Conde* went to the Town-House, and convinced the Assembly of the Necessity they were under to think of Defending themselves against *Mazarin*. And a Trumpeter arriving from his Majesty, with Orders

Orders to adjourn the Assembly for a Week, the People were much incensed, and call'd out to the Citizens to unite strictly with the Princes. They fell upon the first Thing they met in their Way, threw Stones into the Windows of the Town House, put fire to its Gates, and entring with drawn Swords, murder'd Monsieur *Le Gras*, the Master of Requests, and the Master of Accompts, and twenty or thirty Citizens perished in the Tumult. There was a general Consternation all over the City, all the Shops were shut in an Instant, and in some Parts they set up Barricadoes to stop the Rioters, who had almost over-run the whole Town. It was observ'd, that the Appearance of the Dutches of *Beaufort* prevail'd more with the Mob to disperse, than the Exposing of the Host by the Curate of St. *John's*.

The late Riot had such an Effect on the Parliament, that the President *a Mortier*, and many of the Counsellors, kept away from the public Assemblies for Fear, notwithstanding they were enjoin'd, by a special Arret, to come and take their Places. The Magistrates, for the same Reason, did not go to the Town-House.

On the 18th, the Parliament Deputies being order'd to follow the King to *Pontoise*, the House pass'd an Arret for their immediate Return to Parliament, and the Prince of *Conde*, and the Duke of *Beaufort* brought them into Town with 1,200 Horse.

The Court in the mean Time, pass'd Arrets of Council, annulling those of the Parliament, and the Transactions of the Assembly at the Town-House.

On the 20th, the Parliament declared by an Arret, that the King, being Prisoner to Cardinal *Mazarin*, the Duke of *Orleans* should be desired to take upon him the Office of Lieutenant General of his Majesty, and the Prince, to take upon him the Command of the Army, as long as *Mazarin* should continue in the Kingdom, and that a Copy of the said Arret should be sent to all the Parliaments of the Kingdom; who should be desired to publish the like; but not one comply'd,
except

except that of *Bourdeaux*. Nor was the Duke better obey'd by the several Governors of the Provinces, for but one vouchsafed him an Answer when he acquainted them with his new Dignity, the Court having put them in Mind of their Duty by an Order of Council, published to vacate that of the Parliament, for establishing the said Lieutenantcy. And in *Paris* it self, the Duke's Authority was despis'd; for two Wretches having been condemned for setting Fire to the Town-House, the Citizens, who were order'd to take care of the Execution, refused to obey.

On the 24th, it was order'd that a General Assembly should be held at the Town-House, to consider of Ways and Means to raise Money for subsisting the Troops, and that the Statues at the Palace of *Mazarin* should be sold, to make up the Sum set upon the Cardinal's Head.

On the 29th, It was resolv'd in the Town-Hall, to raise 800,000 Livres for augmenting his Royal Highness's Troops; and to exhort all the great Towns of the Kingdom to an Union with the Metropolis.

The 6th of *August*, the King sent a Declaration, signifying the Removal of the Parliament to *Pontoise*. There was a great Commotion in the House, who agreed not to Register it till the Cardinal was gone out of the Kingdom. As for the Parliament of *Pontoise*, which consisted of but fourteen Officers, with three Presidents at their Head, who had a little before retired in Disguise from *Paris*, they made Remonstrances likewise to the King, for removing Cardinal *Mazarin*. The King granted what was desired of him, and *that* upon the Sollicitations of that honest disinterested Minister, who withdrew from Court to *Bouillon*. This Comedy, so unworthy the Dignity of a King, was accompanied with Circumstances that rendered it still more ridiculous. The two Parliaments fulminated severe Arrets against one another; and that of *Paris* made an Order, that whosoever sat in the Assembly at *Pontoise*, should be struck out of the Register.

At the same Time that of *Pontoise*, Register'd the King's Declaration, which contained an Injunction to the Parliament of *Paris*, the Chamber of Accounts, and the Court of Aids, that since Cardinal *Mazarin* was removed, they should now lay down their Arms, on Condition that his Majesty would grant an Amnesty, remove his Troops from about *Paris*, withdraw those that were in *Guienne*, allow a free and safe Passage to the *Spanish* Troops, and give the Princes Permission to send to his Majesty Persons to confer with his Ministers, concerning what remained to be adjusted. This same Parliament resolved to return their Thanks to his Majesty for removing the Cardinal, and most humbly to intreat the King to return to his good City of *Paris*.

On the 26th, they also register'd the King's Amnesty, or Royal Pardon, granted to all that had taken up Arms against him, but with such Restrictions, that very few could think themselves safe by it.

The King acquainted the Duke of *Orleans*, that he wonder'd, that since *Mazarin* was removed, he should delay, according to his own Declaration and Promise, to lay down his Arms, to renounce all Associations and Treaties, and to cause the Foreign Troops to withdraw; and that when this was done, those Deputies that should come to his Majesty from him, should be very welcome.

On the 3^d of *September*, the Parliament resolved, that their Deputies should wait upon the King, with their Thanks for removing Cardinal *Mazarin*, and to beseech his Majesty to return to *Paris*. That the Duke of *Orleans*, and the Prince of *Conde* should be desired to write to the King and to assure him, they would lay down their Arms, as soon as his Majesty would be pleased to send the Passports for the safe Retreat of the Foreigners; together with an Amnesty in due Form, register'd in all the Parliaments of the Kingdom: And that his Majesty should be petitioned to receive the Deputies of the Princes.

Pray

Pray indulge me a short Pause here, to consider the scandalous Arts, which Ministers palliate with the Name and Sacred Word of a great King, and with which the most August Parliament of the Kingdom, *viz.* the Court of Peers, expose themselves to Ridicule, by such manifest Inconsistencies, as are more becoming the Levity of a College, than the Majesty of a Senate: In short, Persons are not sensible what they do in these State Paroxysms, which have somewhat of a Frenzy. I knew in those Days some very honest Men, who were so fully satisfied of the Justice of the Cause of the Princes, that, upon Occasion, they could have laid down their Lives for it. And I also knew some eminently virtuous and disinterested Men, who would as gladly have been Martyrs for the Court. The Ambition of great Men manages such Dispositions just as it suits with their own Interests; they help to blind the rest of Mankind, and they even become blinder themselves than other People.

Honest M. *de Fontenay*, who had been twice Ambassador at Rome, a Man of great Experience and good Sense, and a hearty Well-wisher to his Country, daily condoled with me on the Lethargy into which the intestine Divisions had lull'd the best Citizens and Patriots; we saw the *Spanish* Colours and Standards display'd upon *Pont-neuf*; the yellow Sashes of *Lorain* appeared at *Paris*, with the same Liberty as the *Isabelles* and Blue ones. People were so accustomed to these Spectacles, and to the News of Provinces, Towns, and Battles lost, that they were become indolent and stupid. Several of my Friends blam'd my Inactivity, and desired me to bestir myself. They bid me, *Save the Kingdom, Save the City*; or else I should fall from the greatest Love to the greatest Hatred of the People; the *Frondeurs* suspected me for a Favourer of *Mazarin's* Party, and the *Mazarins* thought I was engaged too much to the *Frondeurs*.

I was touch'd to the quick with a pathetick Speech made to me by M. *de Fontenay*: " You see, says he, " that *Mazarin*, like *Jack* in a Box, plays at Bo-
" peep;

“ peep; but you see, that whether he appears or disap-
 “ pears, the Wire by which the Puppet is drawn on or
 “ off the Stage, is the Royal Authority; which is not
 “ like to be broke by the Measures now on Foot.
 “ Abundance of those that appear to be his greatest
 “ Opposers, would be very sorry to see him crush’d;
 “ many others would be very glad to see him get
 “ off; not one endeavours to ruin him entirely. You
 “ may get clear of the Difficulty that embarrasses you,
 “ by a Door which opens into a Field of Honour and
 “ Liberty. *Paris*, whose Archbishop you are, groans
 “ under a heavy Load. The Parliament there is but a
 “ meer Phantome; and the Town-house a Desert: The
 “ Duke of *Orleans*, and the Prince, have no more
 “ Authority, than what the Rascally Mob is pleased to
 “ allow them: The *Spaniards*, *Germans*, and *Lorain-*
 “ *ers*, are in the Suburbs, laying all waste to the very
 “ Gardens: You that have rescued them more than
 “ once, and are their Pastor, have been forced to keep
 “ Guards in your own House for three Weeks: And
 “ you know, that at this Day your Friends are under
 “ great Apprehensions, if they see you in the Streets
 “ without Arms. Do you count it a slight Thing to
 “ put an End to all these Miseries? And will you ne-
 “ glect the only Moment Providence puts into your
 “ Hands, to obtain the Honour of it? Take your Clergy
 “ with you to *Compiègne*; thank the King for removing
 “ *Mazarin*; and beg his Majesty to return to *Paris*;
 “ keep a good Correspondence with those Bodies, who
 “ have no other Design but the common Good, who
 “ are already almost all your particular Friends, and
 “ who look upon you as their Head, by reason of your
 “ Dignity: And if the King actually returns to the
 “ City, the People of *Paris* will be obliged to you for
 “ it; if you meet with a Refusal, you will have still their
 “ Acknowledgments for your good Intention. If you
 “ can get the Duke of *Orleans* to join with you, you’ll
 “ save the Realm; for I am persuaded that if he knew
 “ how to act his Part in this Juncture, it would be in
 “ his Power to bring the King back to *Paris* and to
 “ prevent

“ prevent *Mazarin* ever returning again. You are a
“ Cardinal; you are Archbishop of *Paris*; you have
“ the good Will of the Publick, and are but 37 Years
“ old: *Save the City, Save the Kingdom.*

In short, the Duke of *Orleans* approved of my Scheme, and order'd me to convene a general Assembly of the Ecclesiastick Communities, and to get Deputies chosen out of them all, and go with them to Court, there to present the Deputation, which should be in Effect, to request the King to give Peace to his People, to return to his good City of *Paris*, and to endeavour, by my Friends, to induce the other Corporations of the City to do the like. I was to tell the Queen, that she could not but be sensible, that the Duke was in good earnest for Peace, which the Publick Engagements he was under to oppose *Mazarin* had not suffer'd him to conclude, or even to propose, while the Cardinal continued Arms at Court. That he renounced all private Views and Interests with relation to himself or Friends: That he desired nothing but the Security of the Publick: And that after he had had the Satisfaction to see the King at the *Louvre*, he would then with Joy retire to *Blois*, fully resolved to live in Peace, and provide for Eternity.

I set out immediately with the Deputies of all the Ecclesiastick Bodies of *Paris*, near 200 Gentlemen, and 50 of the Duke's Guards. The Number of my Attendants gave such Umbrage at Court, where it was ridiculously aggrandiz'd, that the Queen sent me Word I should have Accommodation but for 80 Horses, whereas I had no less than 112, only for the Coaches. If I had known as much when I went, as I heard after I returned, I should hardly have gone; for I was told, that some mov'd for Arresting me, and others for Killing me. However, the Queen received me very well; the King gave me the Cardinal's Cap, and a publick Audience.

I told the Queen in a private Audience, that I was not come only as a Deputy from the Church of *Paris*, but that I had another Commission, which I valued much more, because I took it to be more for her Service than

the other; viz. that of an Envoy from the Duke of Orleans, who had charged me to assure her Majesty, that he was resolved to serve her effectually, and without Delay; as he had promised by a Note under his own Hand, which I then pull'd out of my Pocket. The Queen expressed a great deal of Joy, and said, "I knew very well, M. Cardinal, that you would at last give some particular Marks of your Affection for me."

The Queen told me, that she thank'd the Duke, that she was very much oblig'd to him; that she hoped and desired he would contribute towards making the necessary Dispositions for the King's Return to *Paris*, and that she would not take one Step but in Concert with him. At the same Time, I heard, that the Queen spoke disdainfully of me to my Enemies at Court, whom she dreaded; pretended that I had own'd *Mazarin* was an honest Man, and ridiculed me for the Expence I had put my self to in the Journey, which indeed was immense for so short a Time; because I kept seven open Tables, and spent 800 Crowns a Day.

When I return'd to *Paris*, I was receiv'd with incredible Applause. The King also came thither on the 21st of *October*, and was welcom'd by the Acclamations of the People. The Queen receiv'd me with wonderful Respect, and bid the King embrace me, as one to whom he chiefly ow'd his Return to *Paris*; but Orders were sent to the Duke of *Orleans* to retire next Morning to *Limours*.

When I went to see him, he was all in Confusion, for he imagin'd it was only a Feint to try his Temper. He was in an inconceivable Agony, and fancy'd, that every Musket which was let off by way of Rejoycing for his Majesty's Return, was fired by the Soldiers coming to invest his Palace. Every Messenger that he sent out, brought him Word that all was quiet, but he would believe no body, and look'd continually out of the Window, to hearken if the Drums were beating the March. At last he took Courage to ask me, if I was firm to him, and after I had assured him of my Fidelity, he desired that

that as a Proof of my Attachment and Affection to him, I would be reconciled to M. de Beaufort: *With all my Heart*, said I: Whereupon he embraced me, went to open the Gallery Door by his Bed Chamber, and out came M. de Beaufort, who threw himself about my Neck, and said, *Pray ask his Royal Highness what I have been saying to him concerning you: I know who are honest Men: Come on, Sir, let us drive all the Mazarins away for good and all.* He endeavoured to shew both the Necessity and Possibility of it, and advised the making Barricadoes next Morning by break of Day in the Halls.

The Duke of Orleans turning about to me, and saying as they do in Parliament: *Your Opinion*, Mr. Dean. I told him, “ That if I must give it him as Dean, “ there never was more Occasion for the 40 Hours “ Prayers than now. I my self stand in need of them “ more than any body, because I can give no Advice “ but what must appear very cruel, and be attended “ with horrid Inconveniencies. If I should advise you “ to put up with the Injurious Treatment you undergo, “ will not the Publick, who always make the worst of “ every Thing, have a Handle to say, I betray your “ Interest; and that my Advice was but a necessary “ Consequence of all those Obstacles I threw in the “ Princes Way: And if I give it as my Opinion, that “ your Royal Highness should follow the Measures “ which M. de Beaufort proposes, shall I not be ac- “ counted one who blows hot and cold in a Breath? “ Who is for Peace, when he thinks to gain his Advan- “ tages by the Treaty; but for War, when he is not “ admitted to negotiate. One who is for destroying “ Paris with Fire and Sword, and for carrying the “ Flames to the Gates of the *Louvre*, by attacking the “ very Person of the King. If you obey, you will be “ responsible to the Publick, for all it may suffer after- “ wards. I am no competent Judge of what it may “ suffer in particular; for who can foresee Events depend- “ ing on the Whimsies of a Cardinal, on the Stormings “ of *Undeity*, the Impertinency of the Abbot *Fouquet*, “ and

“ and the Violence of *Servien*? But you will have to
 “ answer for all, because the Publick will be persuaded
 “ that you might have prevented it. If you do not
 “ obey, you may go near to overturn the Realm. Here
 the Duke interrupted me eagerly, and said, This is not
 to the Purpose; the Question is, if I am in a Condition,
 that is, if it is in my Power to disobey. I believe so,
 said I; for I do not see how the Court can oblige you to
 obey, unless the King himself should march to *Luxem-*
burgh, which would be a Matter of great Importance:
 Nay, *M. de Beaufort* said, it would be impossible; and
 I perceived the Duke began to think so too, for it fitted
 his Humour, who could not abide to take any Pains;
 and upon this Supposition resolv’d to stay at Home with
 his Arms folded. I said, you are able to do any Thing
 to Night, and to Morrow Morning; but I cannot an-
 swer how it may be in the Evening. *M. de Beaufort*,
 who thought that I was going to argue for the offensive,
 fell in roundly with me to second me; but I stopt him
 short, by telling him, he mistook my Meaning: I shall
 never presume, said I, to give Advice in the Condition
 Things are now in. The Duke himself must de-
 cide, and even propose to, and ’tis our Business to per-
 form his Commands. Then he said, *If I should resolve*
to stand it out, will you declare for me? Yes, said I, ’tis
 what I ought in Duty. I am attached to your Service;
 in which I shall certainly not be wanting, and you need
 only to command me: But I am very much griev’d,
 that, considering the present State of Affairs, an honest
 Man cannot act the honest Part, do what you can. The
 Duke, who was by Nature good, but not very tender,
 could not help being moved at what I said; the Tears
 came into his Eyes, he embraced me, and asked me,
 if I thought he could secure the King’s Person. I told
 him that nothing was more impossible. I found at
 length, that he was inclin’d to obey, but he bid us keep
 our Friends together in a readiness, and to be with him
 at break of Day; but he set out for *Limours* an Hour
 sooner than what he had told us, and left one to tell us,
 that he had his Reasons for so doing, which we should
 know

know another Day, advising us, if possible, to make our Peace with the Court.

On the 22d, the King held his Bed of Justice at the *Louvre*, where he publish'd the Amnesty, as also an Order for Re-establishing the Parliament at *Paris*, in which there was a Clause, forbidding them to meddle with State Affairs. At the same time he caus'd a Declaration to be publish'd, ordering Messieurs de *Beaufort*, *Roban*, *Viole*, de *Thou*, *Broussel*, *Portail*, *Bitaud*, *Croissi*, *Machaut*, *Fleury*, *Martineau*, and *Perraut*, to depart the City.

The Court now began to offer me Terms of Reconciliation. I was desirous that as many of my Friends as possible should be included; but *Caumartin*, who was in the Secret of Affairs, told me, there was no hopes of procuring any Advantages for particular Persons, that all that cou'd be done was, to save the Ship for another Voyage, and that this Ship, which was my self, cou'd be saved no other Way, in the Condition into which our Affairs were fallen by the Duke of *Orleans's* want of Resolution, but by launching out into the Main, and Steering towards *Rome*. "You stand, said he, as it
"were on the Point of a Needle, and if the Court
"knew their Strength, they would rout you as they do
"the rest; your Courage gives you an Air that both
"deceives and disquiets them. Make use of the present
"Moment for obtaining what may be serviceable to
"you in your Employ at *Rome*, for the Court will deny
"you nothing.

Montresor hearing of it, said to me afterwards with an Oath; *He is a Villain that says your Eminence can make your Peace honourably without making Terms for your Friends; he that affirms the contrary, doth it for his own private Ends.* Therefore I refused the Offers made me by *Servien*, which were, that the King would resign his Affairs in *Italy* to my Care, and allow me a Pension of 50000 Crowns, that I should have 100000 Crowns towards paying off my Debts, and 50000 in Hand towards Furniture; that I should continue three Years at *Rome*, and then return to resume my Functions at *Paris*.

The Princess *Palatine* told me, I ought either to accept, or to treat with the Cardinal, since all the Subalterns were against me. Madame *de Lesdiguières* advised me to carry it fair, and keep within Doors, adding, that the Cardinal, who was impatient to return to *Paris*, but durst not, as long as I staid, would make me a Bridge of Gold to go out, and agree to whatever I demanded. Accordingly I sent my Proposals to the Cardinal, who was then lurking in *Turenne's* Army upon the Frontiers, and desired such and such Posts for my Friends. Mean time *Servien*, and the Abbot *Fouquet* endeavour'd to exasperate the Queen, by telling her, that I was continually caballing with the Annuitants and Officers of the Militia; and because I refused to go to Parliament, in Obedience to the King's Orders, when he held his Court of Justice there, to Register the Declaration of High-Treason against the Prince of *Conde*, the Queen was made to believe, that I manag'd underhand for the Prince, and therefore resolv'd to ruine me cost what it would. One Officer posted Men in an House near Madame *de Pomereux*, to attack me; another was employ'd to get Intelligence at what Time of Night I used to go and Visit her; a third had an Order, signed by the King, to attack me in the Street, and bring me off dead or alive. An unknown Person advised me not to go that Day to *Rambouillet*; but I went with 200 Gentlemen, and found a great many Officers of the Guards, who, whatever were their Orders, were in no Condition to attack me, and receiv'd me with Reverence; but I blam'd my self for it afterwards, because it only tended to incense the Court the more against me.

Upon All-Saints Day, I preach'd at *St. Germain*, which is the King's Parish, where their Majesties did me the Honour to be present; for which, I went next Day to return them Thanks; but finding that the Cautions sent me from all Quarters multiply'd very fast, I did not go to the *Louvre* till the 19th of *December*, when I was Arrested in the Queen's Antichamber, by the Captain of the Guards then in Waiting, who carry'd me
into

into an Apartment, where the Officers of the Kitchen brought me Dinner, of which I eat heartily, to the Mortification of the base Courtiers: tho' I did not take it well to see my Pockets turn'd inside out, as if I had been a Cut-purse. This Ceremony; which is not common, was perform'd by the Captain; but he found nothing, except a Letter from the King of *England*, desiring me to try if the Court of *Rome* would assist him with Money. When this Letter came to be talk'd of, it was maliciously reported that it came from the Protector. I was carry'd in one of the King's Coaches, under a Guard, to *St. Vincennes*. As we pass'd, we found at several of the Gates a Battalion of *Swiss* with their Pikes presented towards the City, where every Body was quiet, tho' their Sorrow and Consternation was visible enough. I was inform'd however, afterwards, that all the Butchers in the Veal-Market were going to take Arms, and that they might have made Barricadoes there with all the Ease in the World, only they were restrain'd, for fear that I should have paid for their Tumult with the Loss of my Life; so that the Women remain'd in Tears, and the Men stood stock still in a Fright. I was confin'd at *Vincennes* for a Fortnight together, in a Room as big as a Church, without any Firing. My Guards pilfer'd my Linen, Apparel, Shoes, &c. so that sometimes I was forc'd to lye a Bed a Week or 10 Days together for want of Clothes to dress me. I could not but think that such Treatment had been order'd by the Higher Powers, on purpose to break my Heart; but I resolv'd not to die that way; and tho' my Guard said all he could to vex me, I seem'd to take no notice.

The Instances of the Clergy of *Paris* obliged the Court to explain it self concerning the Causes of my Imprisonment, by the Mouth of the Chancellor, who, in the Presence of the King and Queen, acquainted them, that his Majesty had caused me to be arrested for my own good, and to prevent me from putting something that I design'd in Execution. The Chapter of *Notre Dame* had an Anthem to be sung every Day for my Deliverance. The *Sorbonne*, and many of the Religious Or-

ders, distinguish'd themselves by declaring for me. This general stir oblig'd the Court to treat me somewhat better than at first. They let me have some Books, but by Tale, and without Ink and Paper, and they allow'd me a Valet de Chambre, and a Physician.

During my Confinement at *Vincennes*, which lasted fifteen Months, I studied both Day and Night, especially the *Latin* Tongue, in which I perceived one cannot bestow too much Pains, since it takes in all other Studies. I div'd into the *Greek* also, and review'd the 9th Decade of *Livy*, which I had formerly delighted in, and found as pleasant as ever. I compos'd, in Imitation of *Boetius*, a Treatise, which I intituled, *Consolation de la Theologie*; i. e. *The Comfort of Theology*; in which I prov'd, that every Prisoner ought to endeavour to be *Vinctus in Christo*; i. e. *in the Bonds of Christ*, mention'd by *St. Paul*. I also compiled that call'd *Partus Vincennarum*, which was a Collection of the Acts of the Church of *Milan*, for the Use of the Church of *Paris*.

My Guard omitted nothing he could invent to make my Life uneasy, and disturb my Studies. One Day he came and told me, that he had received Orders from the King to give me an Airing on the Top of the *Donjon*. And when he perceiv'd that I took a Pleasure in walking there, he inform'd me with Joy in his Looks, that he had Orders to the contrary. I told him that they were come in good Time, for the Air, which was too sharp there, had made my Head ache. Afterwards he offer'd me to come down into the Tennis-Court, to see my Guards at Play; I desir'd him to excuse me, because I thought the Air would be too piercing for me; but he made me go, telling me that the King, who took more care of my Health than I fancied, had order'd that he should give me some Exercise; soon after, he desir'd me to excuse him for not bringing me down again, for Reasons, said he, which I must not tell. The Truth was, I was so much above these Chicanries, that I despis'd them; but I must own, I used to think with^{*} my self, that in the main, to be a Prisoner

Prisoner of State, was of all others the most Afflicting: All the Relaxation I had from my Studies was, to divert my self with some Rabbits on the Top of the *Donjon*, and some Pidgeons in the Turrets; for which I was oblig'd to the continual Solicitations of the Church of *Paris*. I had not been a Prisoner above nine Days, but one of my Guards, while his Comrade, who watched with me was asleep, came and slipt a Note into my Hand, from *Madame de Pomereux*, in which were only these Words: *Let me have your Answer, you may safely trust the Bearer.* The Bearer gave me a Pencil and a bit of Paper, in which I wrote, that I had receiv'd her Letter.

Notwithstanding three Serjeants and twenty four Life Guards relieved one another every Day, our Correspondence was not interrupted. *Madame de Pomereux*, *Monfieur de Caumartin*, and *de Haqueville*, wrote me Letters twice a Week constantly, about the Means how I might escape, which I attempted twice, but in vain.

The Abbot *Charier*, who set out for *Rome* the Day after I was arrested, found Pope *Innocent* incensed to the highest Degree, and ready to throw his Thunder upon the Heads of the Authors of it. He spoke of it to the *French* Ambassador with great Resentment, and sent the Archbishop to *Avignon* with the Character of Nuncio Extraordinary, on purpose to solicit my Enlargement. The King was in a Fury, and forbad the Nuncio to pass *Lyons*. The Pope told the Abbot *Charier*, that he was afraid to expose his and the Church's Authority to the Fury of a Madman, and said: *Give me but an Army, and I will furnish you with a Legate.* It was a difficult Matter indeed to get him that Army, but not impossible, if those that should have stood my Friends, had not left me in the Lurch.

Mean Time, *Noirmoutier* and *Bussi Lamet*, wrote a Letter to *Mazarin*, declaring they could not help proceeding to Extremities if I was detain'd any longer in Prison. The Prince of *Conde* declar'd he would do any Thing without Exception, which my Friends desir'd, for my Liberty, and offer'd to march all the *Spanish*

nish Forces to their Assistance ; but the Misfortune was, that there was no Body to form the proper Schemes ; and *Noirmoutier*, who was the most enterprising Man of 'em all, was hindred from Action by *Madame de Chevreuse* and *Laigues*, who, the Cardinal said, should be accountable for the Actions of their Friends ; and that if they fir'd one Pistol shot, they must expect what would follow. Therefore *Noirmoutier* was glad to elude all the Propositions of the Prince of *Conde*, and to be content with only Writing and Speaking in my Favour, and firing the Cannon at the Drinking of my Health.

Monsieur de Pradello, who commanded the French and Swiss Guards in the Castle, came one Day to tell me of the happy Return of Cardinal *Maxarin* to *Paris*, and of his magnificent Reception at the Town-House ; and he assur'd me, that the Cardinal had sent him to assure me of his most humble Services, and to beg of me to be perswaded, that he would forget nothing that might be for my Service ; I made as if I did not heed the Compliment, and was for talking of something else ; but as he press'd me for a direct Answer, I told him that I should have been ready at the first Word to shew him my Acknowledgments, were I not perswaded that the Duty of a Prisoner to the King, did not permit him to explain himself in any thing relating to his Enlargement, till his Majesty had been graciously pleas'd to grant it him. He understood my Meaning, and endeavour'd to perswade me to return a more obliging Answer to the Cardinal, but could not.

The Cardinal was so teiz'd with Complaints from *Rome*, and so disturb'd with the Discontents which prevail'd in *Poitou* and *Paris*, upon Account of my Imprisonment, that he sent me an Offer of my Liberty, and great Advantages, on Condition I would resign the Goadjutorship of *Paris*.

The Sollicitations of the Chapter of *Noire Dame* prevail'd on the Court to consent that one of their Body might be always with me, who, tho' he came gladly into

into it for my sake, fell into a deep Melancholy, but could not be prevailed upon to go out, and being soon after seiz'd with a Fever, cut his *own* Throat. My Uncle dying soon after, Possession was taken of the Archbishoprick in my Name, by my Proxy; and *Tellier*, who was sent to *Notre Dame* Church to oppose it on the Part of the King, was mortify'd with the Thunder of my Bulls from *Rome*. The People were surpriz'd to see all the Formalities observ'd to a Nicety, at a Juncture when they thought there was no possibility of observing one. The Curates grew more Warm than usual, and my Friends blew up the Fire; the Nuncio thinking himself bubbled by the Court, spoke in high Terms, and threatned his Censures. A little Book was publish'd, shewing the Necessity of shutting up the Churches, which rouz'd up the Cardinal's Apprehensions, and his Apprehensions naturally led him into Negotiation. He amus'd me with Hundreds of fine Prospects of Church-Livings, Governments, &c. and the being restor'd to the good Graces of the King, and to the strictest Friendship with his Prime Minister.

I had more Liberty than before; they always carried me up to the Top of the *Donjon* whenever it was fair over Head; but my Friends, who did not doubt that all the Court wanted was, to get some Expression from me, of my Inclination to resign, in order to discredit me with the Public, charged me to be altogether on the Reserve, which I follow'd to a Tittle; so that when a Captain of the Guards came from the King to discourse with me upon this Head, who, by *Mazarin's* Direction, talked to me more like an Aga of the Janisaries, than like an Officer of the Most Christian King, I desired Leave to give him my Answer in Writing, expressing my Contempt of all Threats and Promises, and an inviolable Resolution not to give up the Archbishoprick of *Paris*.

Next Day, the President *Belieuvre* came to me on the part of the King, with an Offer of seven Abbeys, provided I would quit my Archbishoprick. But he open'd himself to me with entire Freedom, and said, he could

not

not but think what a Fool the *Sicilian* was, to send him on such Errand ; “ Most of your Friends said *Belieuvre*, think, that you need only to stand it out resolutely, and that the Court will be glad to set you at Liberty, and send you to *Rome*. But ’tis a horrid Mistake ; for the Court will be satisfied with nothing but your Resignation. When I say the Court, I mean *Mazarin* ; for the Queen will not bear the Thought of giving you your Liberty. The chief Thing that determines *Mazarin* to think of your Liberty, is his Fear of the Nuncio, the Chapter, the Curates, and the People : But I dare affirm, that the Nuncio will threaten high, but do nothing ; the Chapter my perhaps make Remonstrances, but to no purpose ; the Curates will preach, and that’s all ; the People will clamour, but take up no Arms. The Consequence will be, your Removal to *Brest* or *Havre de Grace*, and leaving you in the Hands of your Enemies, who will use you as they please. I know that *Mazarin* is not blood-thirsty ; but I tremble to think of what *Noailles* has told you, that they are resolved to make haste, and take such Methods as other States have furnished Examples of. You may, perhaps, infer from hence, that I would have you resign. By no Means. I am come to tell you, that if you resign, you will do a dishonourable Thing ; and that it behoves you on this Occasion to answer the great Expectations the World now is in, on your Account ; even to the hazarding of your Life, and of your Liberty, which I am perswaded you value more than Life it self. Now is the Time for you to put in Practice more than ever, those Maxims for which we have so much combated you ; viz. *I dread no Poison nor Sword ! Nothing can hurt me but what’s within me ! It matters not where one dies !* Thus you ought to answer those that speak to you about your Resignation.”

I was carried from *Vincennes* under a Guard to *Nantes* ; where I had a World of Visits and Diversions, and was entertain’d with a Comedy almost every Night,
and

and the Company of the Ladies, particularly the charming *Mademoiselle de la Vergne*, who in good Truth did not approve of me, either because she had no Inclination for me, or else, because her Friends had set her against me, by telling her of my Inconstancy and different Amours. I entertained her Cruelty with my natural Indifferency; and the full Liberty *Mareschal de Meilleraye* allowed me with the City Ladies, gave me Abundance of Comfort; nevertheless I was kept under a very strict Guard. As I had stipulated with *Mazarin*, that I should have my Liberty on Condition that I would resign my Archbishoprick at *Vincennes*, which I knew would not be valid, I was surpriz'd to hear, that the Pope refused to ratifie it; because tho' it would not have made my Resignation a Jot the more binding, yet it would have procured my Liberty. I propos'd Expedients to the Holy See, by which the Court might do it with Honour; but the Pope was inflexible; thought it would shock his Reputation, to consent to a Violence so injurious to the whole Church; and said to my Friends, who begg'd his Consent with Tears in their Eyes, that he could never answer to consent to a Resignation extorted from a Prisoner by Force.

After several Consultations with my Friends, how to make my Escape, I effected it *August* the 8th, at five in the Evening; I let myself down to the Bottom of the Bastion forty Foot high, with a Rope, while my *Valet de Chambre* treated the Guards with as much Liquor as they could drink. They were moreover taken up with looking at a *Jacobin* Friar, who happen'd to be drown'd as he was bathing. A Centinel seeing me, was taking up his Match to fire; but dropp'd it, upon my threatning to have him hang'd; and he said upon Examination, that he believ'd *Mareschal de la Meilleraye*, was in Concert with me. Two Pages that were washing themselves, saw me also, and call'd out, but were not heard. My four Gentlemen waited for me at the Bottom of the Ravelin, on Pretence of watering their Horses; so that I was on Horseback before the least Notice was taken; and having forty fresh Horses plant-

ed.

ed on the Road, I might have reached *Paris* very soon, if my Horse had not fallen, and broke my Shoulder-Bone; the Pain of which was so extream, that I had like to have fainted away several Times; and not being able to go throughout the Stage, was lodg'd with only one of my Gentlemen, in a great Hay-mow, while Messieurs *Brissac* and *Joly* went strait to *Beaupreau*, to assemble the Nobility there, in order to rescue me. I lay hid there above seven Hours, under inexpressible Misery, for my Pain and Contusion threw me into a Fever, during which my Thirst was much augmented by the Smell of the new Hay; but though we were by a River-side, we durst not venture out for Water, because there was no body to put the Mow in Order again, which would very probably have occasion'd a Suspicion and a Search. We heard nothing but Horsemen riding by, who, we were afterwards informed, were the Marechal *de la Meilleraye's* Scouts: But about two a Clock in the Morning, I was fetch'd out of the Mow, by a *Parisian* of Quality, sent by my Friend *Brissac*, and carried on a Hand-barrow to a Barn, where I was again buried alive, as it were, in Hay for seven or eight Hours, when M. *Brissac* and his Lady came with fifteen or twenty Horse, and carry'd me to *Beaupreau*. From thence we proceeded almost in Sight of *Nantes*, to *Macheoul* in the Country of *Retz*, after having had a Re-encounter with some of *Meilleraye's* Guards, wherein we repulsed them to the very Barrier.

The Marechal *de la Meilleraye* was so amazed at my Escape, that he threatned to destroy this whole Country with Fire and Sword; for which Reason I was an unwelcome Guest to Madame *de Retz* and her Father, who rallied me very uncharitably for my Disobedience to the King: We thought fit therefore to leave the Country, and went aboard a Ship for *Belle Isle*, from whence, after a very short Stay there, we escap'd to *St. Sebastian*.

Upon

Upon my Arrival there, I sent a Letter to the King of Spain, to desire Leave to pass through his Dominions to Rome. The Messenger was received at Court with Civilities beyond Expression; and sent back next Day with the present of a Gold Chain worth 800 Crowns. I had also one of the King's Litters sent me, and an Invitation to go to *Madrid*; but I desired to be excused: and tho' I also refused immense Offers, if I would but go to *Flanders*, and treat with the Prince of Conde, &c. for the Service of Spain; yet I had a Velvet Coffer sent me with 40,000 Crowns in it; which I likewise thought fit to refuse; but as I had no Linnen nor Apparel, either for myself or Servants, and that the 400 Crowns which we got by the Sale of Pilchards, on Board the Bark in which we came from *Belle Isle*, was almost spent, I borrowed 400 Crowns of the Baron de *Vateville*, who commanded for the King of Spain in *Guipuscoa*, and faithfully repaid him.

From *Sebastian* I travell'd *incognito* to *Tudela*, where I was met by the King's Mule-drivers, and waited on by the Alcaid, who left his Wand at my Chamber-Door, and at his Entrance kneel'd, and kiss'd the Hem of my Garment. From hence I was conducted to *Cortes*, by 50 Musqueteers riding upon Asses; who were sent me by the Viceroy of *Navarre*. At *Saragossa* I was taken for the King of *England*, and above 200 Coaches full of Ladies came to pay me their Respects. From thence I proceeded to *Vivaros*, where I had rich Presents from the Viceroy of *Valencia*. And from thence I sailed to *Majorca*, whose Viceroy met me with above 100 Coaches of the *Spanish* Nobility, and carried me to Mass at the Cathedral, where I saw thirty or forty Ladies of Quality, of more than common Charms; and, to speak the Truth, the Women there in general are very fine Beauties, having a graceful Tincture both of the Lilly and the Rose, and a peculiar Head-Dress, which is exceeding pretty. The Viceroy, after having treated me with a magnificent Dinner under a Tent of Gold Brocade near the Sea-side, carry'd me to a Concert of Musick in a Convent, where I found

found the Nuns not inferiour in Beauty to the Ladies of the Town. The Viceroy carry'd me to see his Lady, who was as ugly as a Witch ; but sat under a great Canopy sparkling with precious Stones, which gave a wonderful Lustre to about 60 Ladies with her, who were the handsomest in the whole Town. I was re-conducted on Board my Galley with Musick, and a Discharge of the Artillery, and sailed to *Port-Mahon*, and from thence through the Gulph of *Lions*, to the Canal betwixt *Corfica* and *Sardinia*, where our Ship had like to have been cast away upon a Sand-bank ; but with great Difficulty we got her off, and reached *Porto Longone*. There we quitted the Galley, and went by Land to *Piombino*.





MEMOIRS

OF THE

Cardinal *De RETZ*, &c.

BOOK V.

I Travell'd from *Piombino* to *Florence*, where I had great Honours and vast Offers from the Grand Duke, though *Mazarin* had threatned him in the King's Name with a Rupture, if he granted me Passage through his Dominions; but the Great Duke sent to desire the Cardinal to let him know, whether there was any Possibility of refusing it, without disobliging the Pope, and the Sacred College. As I was travelling through the Duke's Country, my Mules being frighten'd by a Clap of Thunder, ran with my Litter into a Brook, where I had like to have been drown'd.

As

As soon as I arrived at *Rome*, the Pope sent me 4000 Crowns in Gold. I was immediately advertised, that a strong Faction was formed there against me by the Court of *France*; that the Cardinal *d'Est*, Protector of that Nation, had terrible Orders from the King; and that they were resolved to send me packing from *Rome*, cost what it would. I had my old Scruples upon me, and said, I would die a thousand Deaths, rather than make Resistance; but I thought it would be too disrespectful in a Cardinal to come so near the Pope, and go away without kissing his Feet; and resolv'd to leave the rest to the Providence of God.

The Pope having order'd his Guards to be ready, in case the *French* Faction should offer to rise, the Cardinal *d'Est* was so good as to let me alone. His Holiness gave me an Audience of four Hours, condescended to beg my Excuse, that he had not acted with more Vigour for my Liberty; and said with Tears in his Eyes, *God forgive those who delay'd to give me the first Advice of your Imprisonment, and who made us believe, that you had been guilty of an Attempt upon the King's Person. The Sacred College took Fire at the News; but the French Ambassador being at Liberty to give out what he list, because no body appear'd here on your part to contradict him, Mazarin extinguish'd it, and half the Sacred College thought you was abandoned by the whole Kingdom.* In short, the Pope was so well disposed to me, that he thought to have adopted me for his Nephew, but he sickened soon after and died.

The Conclave chose Cardinal *Cbigi* (who was called *Alexander VII.*) for his Successor, in whose Election I had such a Share, that when it came to my Turn, at the Adoration of the Cardinals, to kiss his Feet, he embraced me, saying aloud, Signior Cardinal *de Retz*, *Ecce opus manuum tuarum*: i. e. Behold the Work of your own Hands. I went Home accompanied with 120 Coaches of Gentlemen, who did not doubt but I should govern the Pontificate.

My

My Friends in *France*, who commonly judge of other Nations by their own, imagined, that a persecuted Cardinal might, nay, ought to live like a private Man, even at *Rome*; and advised me not to spend much Money, because my Revenues in *France* were all seiz'd; and that such exemplary Modesty would have an admirable Effect upon the Clergy of *Paris*. But Cardinal *Chigi* talk'd after another Manner: " When you are re-estab-
" lished in your See, you may live so as you please,
" because you will be in a Country where every Body
" will know what you are, or are not able to do. You
" are now at *Rome*, where your Enemies say every Day,
" that you have lost your Credit in *France*; and you are
" under a Necessity to make it appear that what they
" say is false. You are not a Hermit, but a Cardinal;
" and a Cardinal too of the better Rank. At *Rome*,
" there's abundance of People, who love to tread upon
" Men when they are down. Dear Sir, take Care
" you don't fall, and do but consider what a Figure you
" will make in the Streets, with Six Vergers attending
" you; otherwise every pitiful Citizen of *Paris* that
" meets you, will be apt to jostle you, in order to
" make his Court to the Cardinal *d' Est*. You ought
" not to have come to *Rome*, if you had not had Reso-
" lution, and the Means to support your Dignity. I
" presume you don't make it a Point of Christian Hu-
" mility to debase your self: And let me tell you,
" that I, the poor Cardinal *Chigi*, who have but 5,000
" Crowns Revenue, and am one of the poorest in the
" College, and though I am sure to meet no Body in
" the Streets that will be wanting in the Respect due
" to the Purple, yet I cannot go to my Functions with-
" out four Coaches in a Livery to attend me."

Therefore I hired a Palace, kept a great Table, and entertain'd fourscore Persons in Liveries; for the Cardinal *d' Est*, the very Day after the Creation of the new Pope, forbid all *French* Men to give me the Way in the Streets, and had charg'd the Superiours of the *French* Churches not to admit me. Monsieur de *Lionne*, who resided here as a sort of private Secretary to *Ma-*
zarin,

zarin, was so nettled, because the new Pope had granted me the *Pallium* for my Archbishoprick, that he told him, the King would never own me; and seem'd to insinuate, that there would be a Schism among the Clergy of *France*; and that the Pope must expect to be excluded from the Congress for a General Peace; which so frighten'd his Holiness, that he made a Million of mean Excuses, and said, with Tears in his Eyes, that I had imposed upon him; and that he would take the first Opportunity to do the King Justice. Upon this, Monsieur de *Lionne* sent Word to the Cardinal, that he hoped very shortly to acquaint him of my being a Prisoner in the Castle of St. *Angelo*; and that the Cardinal would be never the better for his Majesty's Amnesty, because the Pope said, none but he could absolve or condemn Cardinals. Mean time all my Domesticks, who were Subjects to the King of *France*, were order'd to quit my Service, on Pain of being treated as Rebels and Traitors. I could have little Hopes of Protection from the Pope, for he was become quite another Man, never spoke one Word of Truth, and continually amus'd himself with meer Trifles, insomuch, that one Day he propos'd a Reward for whosoever found out a *Latin* Word for *Calash*; and spent seven or eight Days in examining whether *Mosco* came from *Musca*, or *Musca* from *Mosco*; all his Piety consisted in a serious Look at Church, in which, nevertheless, there was a great Mixture of Pride, for he was vain to the last Degree, and envious of every Body. That call'd, *Sindicato di Alexandro VII.* gives an Account of his Luxury, and of several Pasquinades against the said Pope, particularly, that one Day *Marfario* asking *Pasquin* what he said to the Cardinals upon his Death-Bed, *Pasquin* answer'd, *Maxima de seipso, plurima de parentibus, parva de principibus, turpia de Cardinalibus, pauca de Ecclesia, de Deo nihil*; i. e. He said fine things of himself, a great many things of his Kindred, some things of Princes, could not give the Cardinals a good Word, said but little of the Church, and nothing at all of God. His Holiness, in a Consistory, pretended to the Merit of the Conversion

sion of *Christina*, Queen of *Sweden*, tho' every Body knew to the contrary, and that she had abjured Heresie a Year and half before she came to *Rome*.

Having heard that *Buffiere*, who is Chamberlain to the Ambassadors at *Rome*, had declar'd, I should not have a Place in *St. Lewis's* Church on the Festival of that Saint, I was not discouraged in going thither: At my Entrance, he snatch'd the Holy Water Stick from the Curate just as he was going to sprinkle me; nevertheless I took my Place, and was resolv'd to keep up the Train and Port of a *French* Cardinal.

This was my Condition at *Rome*, where it was my Fate to be a Refugee, persecuted by my King, and abused by the Pope. All my Revenues were seiz'd, and the *French* Bankers forbid to serve me; nay, those who had an Inclination to assist me, were forc'd to promise they would not. Two of the Abbot *Fouquet's* Bastards were publickly maintain'd out of my Revenues, and no Methods were omitted to hinder the Farmers from relieving me, or my Creditors from harrassing me with vexatious and expensive Law-suits.

F I N I S.





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